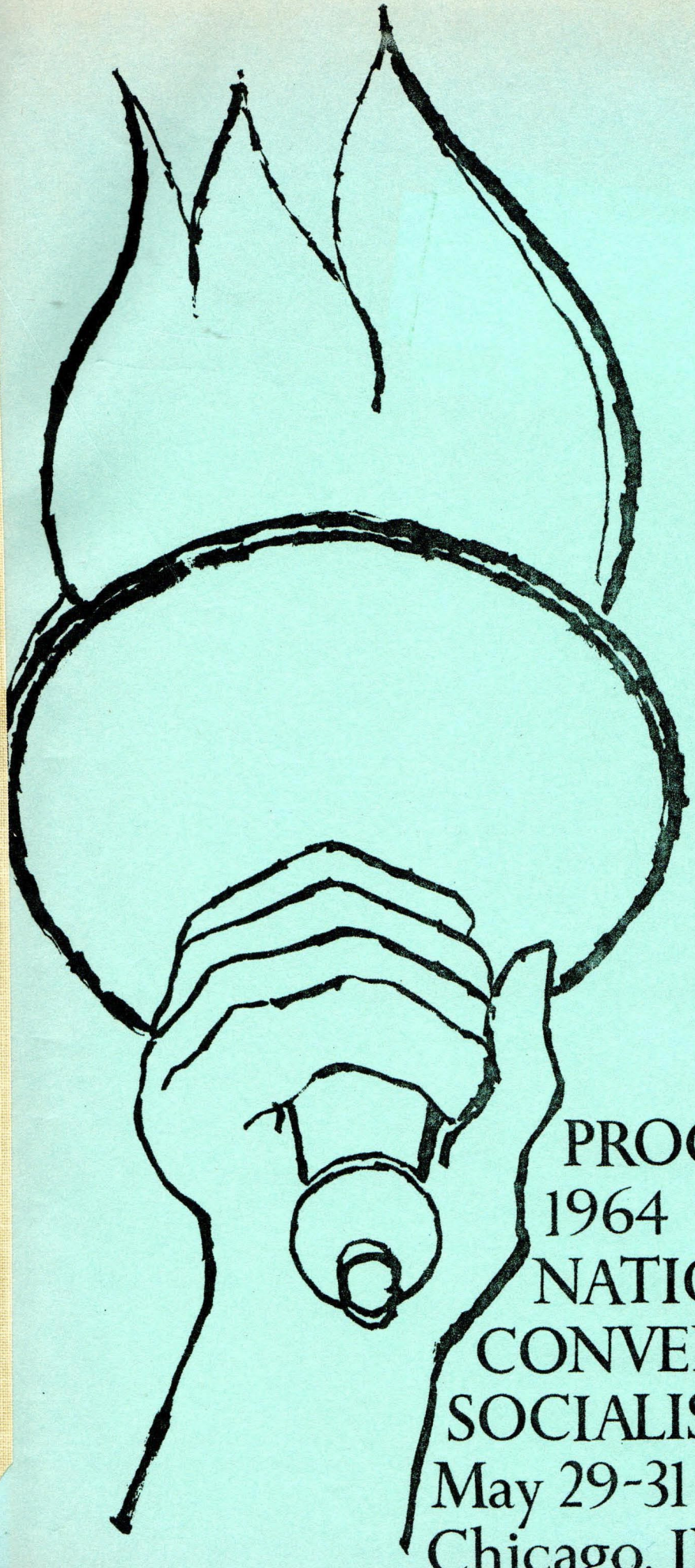


# PROCEEDINGS
# 1964
# NATIONAL CONVENTION
# SOCIALIST PARTY
May 29-31
Chicago, Ill.

WARNING: The resolutions in the appendix do not include the amendments added to them on the convention floor. The completed domestic and foreign sections of the 1964 Platform will be edited and published before Sept. 1, 1964. The edited version of the Political Action Resolution will be published in New America and distributed to the key list for discussion and guidance locally.

In the meantime, amendments to the Political Action Resolution will be found on page 3 of the Convention Proceedings. Amendments to the domestic platform are on pages 5,6,7,8,9,20,21, and refer to the following documents in the appendix: the Committee Redraft on Education and the Harrington War on Poverty, the Kahn Civil Rights and the Tucker Medical Care documents. The only amendment to the foreign platform is the Amendment V listed on page 17 of the Proceedings.

New Democratic Party (Canada)
Praja Socialist Party (India)
Dutch Labour Party
Danish Social Democratic Party
Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party
Estonian Socialist Party in Exile
Rumainian Socialist Party in Exile
People's Socialist Party (Aden)
Vietnam Socialist Party

League for Industrial Democracy
War Resisters League
Students for a Democratic Society

report of the Preliminary Credentials Committee (National Committee) was given by Na-
nal Administrative Secretary Betty Elkin.

ION: by Seymour Steinsapir. To separate out those whose status is in question be-
se of length of membership. CARRIED.

PROCEEDINGS
1964 NATIONAL CONVENTION
SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A.

May 29, 30, 31, 1964 Chicago, Illinois

Friday, May 29, 1964

The Convention was opened at 1:45 P.M. by National Chairman Darlington Hoopes with a statement. (Appendix)

Memorials

A moment of silence was observed in memory of the comrades who died during the last two years and in memory of the former chairmen of the Socialist International, Erich Ollenhauer and Alsing Anderson. Among those listed were: Harry Clevenger and Francis Harvey, N.J.; David Jones, Ariz.; B.M. Lane and Gordon Levett, Texas; Alexander Gittes, Fla.; Bert Nelson, Ill.; Max Epstein and Caroline Urie, Ohio; Mrs. A. R. Greenfield, Milton Bortz, Gordon McLean, William Widmyer, Miles Williams, John Weinhold, Henry Hufnagel, and Howard McDonough, Pa.; Fred Whitney, N.H.; Charles Grabowsky and John Brodde, Wisc.; Charlie Nye Jones, Calif.; Anna Strunsky Walling, Margaret Gillan, Sam Kantor, Mary Kaplan and Edwin Koppel, N.Y.; Kathleen Winston, D.C.

Greetings and announcements were given by comrade Ben Williger on behalf of the host, the Illinois State Organization.

The Chairman read greetings to the Convention from a number of fraternal organizations and parties. Those sending greetings were:

The Socialist International
International Council of Social Democratic Women
Liaison Bureau of the Socialist International of Latin America
The Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe

The British Labour Party
New Democratic Party (Canada)
Praja Socialist Party (India)
Dutch Labour Party
Danish Social Democratic Party
Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party
Estonian Socialist Party in Exile
Rumainian Socialist Party in Exile
People's Socialist Party (Aden)
Vietnam Socialist Party

League for Industrial Democracy
War Resisters League
Students for a Democratic Society

The report of the Preliminary Credentials Committee (National Committee) was given by National Administrative Secretary Betty Elkin.

MOTION: by Seymour Steinsapir. To separate out those whose status is in question because of length of membership. CARRIED.

MOTION: To accept the report and the recommendations of the committee and to refer all other cases to the Credentials Committee. CARRIED.

Chairman Hoopes reported on the agenda as recommended by the National Committee.
MOTION: by Peter Meyer. That Political Action be moved from Friday afternoon to Saturday morning. DEFEATED.
MOTION: To adopt the proposed agenda. CARRIED.

The Convention Rules as proposed by the National Committee were adopted.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS OF THE DAY:

Friday - Chairman: Darlington Hoopes
Vice Ch.: Max Weinrib

Saturday - Chairman: Seymour Steinsapir
Vice Ch.: Wm. Hart

Sunday - Chairman: Jules Bernstein
Vice Ch.: Ann Draper

Comrade Max Shachtman was appointed as Sergeant-at-arms.

NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF CONVENTION COMMITTEES:
MOTION: by Seymour Steinsapir. That membership on the Resolutions and Constitution Committees not be incompatible with membership on any other committee. CARRIED.

Credentials Committee:
Elected: Brom Bassford
Joe Stetson
Ben Williger

Constitution Committee:
Elected: Seymour Kopilow
Seymour Steinsapir
Jack Cypin

Organization and Finance Committee:
Elected: Sid Bykofsky
Joan Suall
Max Wohl
Betty Elkin
Harry Siitonen

Domestic Platform Committee:
Elected: Mike Harrington
Sam Friedman
Arlon Tussing
Rachelle Horowitz
Lula White
Norm Hill
Debbie Meier

Press and Education Committee:
Elected: Don Anderson
Wm. Allen
Peter Meyer
Paul Feldman
Penn Kemble
Marty Oppenheimer

Youth Committee:
Elected: Bernie Bolitzer
Katherine Komatsu
Carlie Anderson
Charles Van Tassel
Samuel Estrin
Dave Komatsu

Resolutions Committee:
Elected: Julius Bernstein
Seymour Kopilow
Seymour Steinsapir

Foreign Platform Committee:
Elected: Saul Mendelson
Irwin Suall
Alex Garber
David McReynolds
Mike Parker
Bernard Bolitzer
Bogdan Denitch

The following were appointed tellers for the session: Sallee Milstein, Charles Van Tassel, Bonnie Mullins, Hannah Carner.

POLITICAL ACTION

Michael Harrington presented his resolution on the political action debate in the Socialist Party and David McReynolds spoke for Harrington's document. Dick Gumpert and Peter Meyer presented substitute resolutions and spoke for them. (These documents are all included in the appendix.) There was a 45 minute discussion on all three motions and 4 minute summaries in the same order.
MOTION: To accept the Harrington resolution as a basis for discussion. CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by David McReynolds (accepted by Harrington). To insert on page 1 between paragraphs ending "in the form of a Labor Party," and the one beginning "Other comrades,": "Some of our members feel the Party's primary task in this period is not in the electoral field, whether in terms of Socialist candidates, an independent labor party, or in terms of realignment. Rather, while we recognize that each of these three positions may have tactical merit in different areas, the basic task of the Democratic Socialist movement must be to carry the concepts of Socialism, both its historic values and its present socio-political analysis, into those mass movements from which any really new political shift in this country can occur." CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by Michael Harrington. To add "formal" between "further" and "debate." CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by David McReynolds. To delete "The Convention therefore urges all comrades and the partisans of all points of view to suspend further debate and controversies on this question for the next period." CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by Saul Mendelson. To insert after paragraph 3 after "if we are to meet our responsibilities,": "We agree that a fundamental change in the present political structure of the United States is an urgent necessity. The problems of poverty, unemployment, and minority oppression can only be solved through the emergence of a mass popularly controlled party that unites the labor, liberal, peace and civil rights voices and in which Socialists can play a vital part."
AMENDMENT to Mendelson's amendment: by Ann Draper (accepted by Mendelson). To add: "In the coming presidential campaign, the Socialist Party rejects endorsement of the Democratic or Republican tickets in view of their failure to solve these problems. The combined amendments: CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by Seymour Steinsapir. "The Democratic and Republican parties each continue to present broad diversity in their approaches to both domestic and foreign policy. We have not seen any polarization of program which would allow us to identify either as a party representing a progressive outlook for the United States. In saying this we are cognizant of the positive first steps taken by the national administration in the war against poverty. However, these first steps are totally inadequate to meet current needs." REFERRED TO NC.

AMENDMENT: by Seymour Steinsapir. To insert after the Mendelson amendment: "But in the absence of a new political development, the Socialist Party must maintain itself as the organization with which those who seek such a development can identify." REFERRED TO NC.

AMENDMENT: at the beginning of paragraph 4, to delete "for at least four years now" and substitute "But within this area of agreement." CARRIED.

MOTION: To accept the Harrington resolution as amended so far. CARRIED.
MOTION: by Seymour Steinsapir. To refer the whole document as so far passed to the Editing Committee. CARRIED.
MOTION: by Bogdan Denitch. To submit the document to the incoming NC for editorial work. OVERRIDDEN.

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Saturday, May 30, 1964

The Convention was called to order at 10:00 A.M. by Chairman Steinsapir. While a quorum was gathering, the Chairman read two statements on Lohia's arrest and Nehru's death which had been passed by the pre-convention NC. Tellers appointed for the session were Hannah Garner and Harry Siitonen.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT

The Credentials Committee reported on the delegates registered since the previous report and recommented that Walter Martin as delegate and James Hamilton as alternate from Indiana be given voice but not vote.

MOTION: by William Allen. That Walter Martin be seated as delegate and James Hamilton be seated as alternate.

Chairman Steinsapir ruled that to seat them would be a suspension of the constitution and would require a two-thirds vote of the delegates present. CARRIED.

Neil Maclay from Washington, D.C. claimed to have joined the Party two years ago, although the National Office had no records of membership or of dues having been paid. He was elected as alternate for Washington, D.C. and wished to be seated.

MOTION: by Seymour Steinsapir. That he be seated. CARRIED.

DOMESTIC PLATFORM

Michael Harrington reported for the Domestic Platform Committee that the Committee recommended that the discussion be organized around his draft on "war on poverty." (This document was distributed for discussion among the locals by the National Office. It was also reprinted in Hammer and Tongs, Vol. II, but with the entire page 4 of the original document missing between the third and fourth paragraphs of page 18 of Hammer and Tongs. The document is available in its entirety in the appendix.)

The Committee also reported that Tom Kahn was preparing a civil right document which would be available to the Convention soon, that an introduction which was being written be submitted to the incoming National Committee to be appended to the platform as a non-Convention statement, that the first four paragraphs of the proposed section on medicare be incorporated in the draft under Strategy and that the rest be incorporated in a special section under Tactics, that Peter Meyer's document (see appendix) have sections removed to serve as amendments to the Harrington document, that (in response to a suggestion from a comrade that the Convention endorse the Ad-Hoc Committee statement on the Triple Revolution) the Committee recommends that the Convention not try to discuss such a complicated document.

The Peter Meyer document was submitted as a substitute platform. Comrades Berg and Meyer spoke for the Meyer document and Comrades Kopilow and Harrington for the Committee document. Vote on the Meyer document: DEFEATED.

MOTION: to adopt the Committee report for further consideration. CARRIED.

Seymour Steinsapir proposed that the platform include what we mean by socialization, nationalization, etc. Since no documents were ready, the Committee proposed that this be referred to the National Committee.

AMENDMENT: by Ken Burg. To insert in the Medical Care document on page 2 preceding that paragraph the following section from the Meyer document: "In order to provide prescribed drugs for all citizens free of charge, coordinate research, and elimate costly duplication of production, we favor the nationalization of the pharmaceutical industry. This would end the criminal recklessness with which new drugs are frequently released on the market and the wasteful competition and advertising which runs up drug costs. Research and production should be coordinated with university laboratories, and policy should be set by a council made up of representatives of pharmaceutical workers, pharmacists, the medical professions and universities." The Committee accepted this amendment.

AMENDMENT: by William Allen. To insert paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 of the Meyer document into the Committee document before the paragraph beginning "To carry out this strategy." CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by Peter Irons. To insert the following paragraph before the paragraph in the Committee document beginning "There are powerful forces": "The rapidly mushrooming drive in our industrial system toward increased automation and cybernation requires that measures by devised to deal with the coming crisis in jobs. At the present time only 1% of our machine is cybernated and it would be foolish to ignore the fact that cybernation will increase drastically in the next few years. It is clear that in ten to fifteen years our industrial slag heap will be filled with additional millions of jobless workers whose hands and brains will have been replaced with automated and cybernated machines. The Socialist Party advocates that as a tentative outline we consider a proposal to provide a guaranteed annual income for all Americans. This will not be achieved in the near future, but must be considered as a future necessity. The Council of Economic Advisors has estimated that it would require only $13 billion to raise the level of every family income in the country to a $3,000 level. It is clearly in our means to carry out this proposal. CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by Ann Draper. In the paragraph beginning "In the strategy of the war against poverty" delete the phrase "whether through realignment of the existing parties or the emergence of a mass third party" and insert the word "may" before "differ" in the beginning of that sentence. CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by Neil Maclay. In the paragraph beginning "A majority of Americans are for the abolition of poverty," to delete the words "in the words of George Meany." DEFEATED.

In the paragraph beginning "In Western Europe," the Committee recommended the deletion of the last sentence and the insertion of a new paragraph after the paragraph beginning "In the United States." This paragraph would read: "Eventually, America will recognize the necessity for planning. Even now giant corporations utilize sophisticated planning techniques for private profit in the United States. (They then devote part of their gains to denying the Government the right to utilize the same planning techniques for the public welfare). But if poverty is to be defeated and a democratic society created at the same time, it is not simply a matter of planning. There is authoritarian and technocratic planning as in France, there is corporate planning as in America - and there is democratic

planning in which the people are the makers of the basic decisions. In Scandinavia, Socialists have demonstrated for more than thirty years that planning can be an instrument of expanding freedom. We propose that this experience must be deepened and made even more fundamental, that decisions on the basic allocations of resources must not simply be planned, but planned democratically."

The following amendments were considered under the section Full Employment:

The Committee recommended the addition after "the building of 2.3 million units...low cost housing program" the following: "new principles in the construction of public housing to improve its quality radically: a rejection of high rise class and race ghettoes; the necessity of building such housing on new lands to make it genuinely integrated; full rights to tenants' committees on public housing; imaginative architecture."

AMENDMENT: by Ken Burg. Instead of "decreases in the working day" substitute "the thirty hour week." CARRIED.

The Committee also incorporated a new section of demands entitled Welfare. The section follows:

> Welfare. The successful conclusion of the war against poverty will involve eventual elimination of relief and welfare programs in the United States. These are palliatives, first aid for the victims of the unjust society. Through planning, new definitions of work, democratic allocation of resources, every citizen can be provided with the right to an increasingly dignified standard of life. Here and now, we propose to bring the existing programs more in line with this aim.
>
> We support:
> - the expansion of social security to all Americans as a birth right, independent of their experience in the labor market;
> - the immediate doubling of Social Security benefits and of the Federal tax base for Social Security;
> - complete Federal subsidization of the ADCU (Aid to the Dependent Children of the Unemployed) program rather than the present system of Federal-State matching payments;
> - raising all welfare benefits up to the level of adequacy as defined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and a total rejection of the notion that benefits can ever be computed as a percentage of need.

AMENDMENT: by Ken Burg. To add to the second item, after "Federal tax base for Social Security" the following: "all additions to Social Security payments should be financed by increased employer contributions and allocations from general funds, rather than by increases in the employee Social Security tax." CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by George Papcun. To add at the end of the Full Employment section the following: "There is a widespread use of the vagrancy laws throughout the country and these laws are used for many purposes, among others to sweep unemployment under the carpet and to take the unemployed off the main streets, where they cannot but disturb the conscience of the people.

"The arrests for so-called vagrancy have increased four-fold in the last two years and this campaign against civil liberties is being coordinated by the FBI. The problem is especially acute to defend the rights of workers to move freely and without intimidation from city to city and state to state. In many cities, as Tucson, Arizona, and Philadelphia, as publicized by Justice Wm. Douglas, these laws are directed against the or-

ganizing efforts of trade unionists and civil rights fighters. Arrested persons are also forced to furnish their unpaid labor as part of their sentence in violation of their constitutional rights.

"Organized efforts to take up the fight and to create public opinion to repeal these laws of the fourteenth century.

"We Socialists condemn the use of vagrancy and loitering laws and urge our comrades to wage war against them by unifying all civil rights organizations."

MOTION: To approve in substance and refer to the Editorial Committee to determine precise formulation and location in platform. CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by William Hart. To add under Full Employment the following: "The poor and racial minorities must share in job opportunities. We therefore support legislative provision aimed at eliminating restrictive conditions which limit the trade union membership possibilities of racial minorities and the poor." DEFEATED.

AMENDMENT: by Charles Davis. To add a separate section on Public Transportation in Urban Areas to be written by the Editorial Committee and inserted where suitable. CARRIED.

MOTION: by Darlington Hoopes. To suspend the agenda and hear greetings from the Jewish Labor Bund. CARRIED.

Dr. Emanuel Scherer presented greetings from the Jewish Labor Bund.

AMENDMENT: by Ann Draper. To add to the section on Agriculture, the following: "In the face of the complicated problems of agriculture we renew our Socialist insistence that the basis of land ownership should be occupancy and use; that cooperative farming should be encouraged as against corporation farming; that family-type farms where conditions are favorable should be more effectively aided under existing agencies with a great increase of activities under the Farmers Home Administration. We call for the full enforcement of the 160 acre limitation of the Reclamation Act restricting water from Federally financed reclamation projects to family-size farms.

"We oppose programs which seek to foster scarcity in a hungry world as a means of higher incomes to farmers.

"Within the U.S. we seek enlargement of school lunch programs and other public welfare food programs in rural areas as well as cities.

"Internationally our food 'surpluses' should be used to fight hunger. As far as possible such a program should be administered through the U.N. to assure that food will be a weapon in a war against human misery, not in the cold war."

To also insert in the Agriculture section: "We stand opposed to a foreign or domestic bracero program as a cynical exploitation of the poverty of depressed groups of workers."

To add to the section on Welfare the following:

- Present measures to improve the housing, education, transportation, and working working conditions of farm workers.
- The extension and improvement of child labor laws to end the shame of child farm work.
- The extension and improvement of the present Social Security to farm workers.

CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by Ann Draper. To delete the last item in the Agriculture section of the Committee document. CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: by William Allen. "We salute the work of the National Farm Organization in its attempt to regulate prices through collective baragining measures." REFERRED TO SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.

AMENDMENT: by Charles Davis. To add a section under Labor. REFERRED TO SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.

AMENDMENT: by Ann Draper. To include in such a section "We favor repeal of Taft-Hartly and Landrum-Griffin Acts. REFERRED TO SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.

MOTION: by Ernst Papanek. To submit the sections on Education and Early Education to the National Committee to refer to a committee on education. DEFEATED.

The following amendments were presented for the Education section:
AMEND.: by Debbie Meier. To substitute "a" for "the most" and to delete "between the ages of 16 and 21" in the second item under Education.
AMEND.: by William Hart. To delete the last paragraph on Education and substitute: "We favor massive non-military Federally appropriated aids to proper education at all levels."
AMEND.: by Quinn Drisben. To add "A strong national democratic collective bargaining agency for teachers, not only to give them a living wage and decent working conditions but also to protect them from harassment by reactionaries and bigots.

"A revision of the curriculum of all public schools to prepare children for the integrated-interdependent technologically sophisticated world in which they will live and to end the teaching of dangerous distortions and myths which lead to racism, anti-color attitudes and lack of understanding of the modern world."
AMEND.: by Francis Heisler. "We oppose a breach in the separation of State and Church, by constitutional amendments or by any other methods. We therefore also oppose the share-the-schools between public and private schools as a breach in the separation of Church and State."

AMENDMENT: by Joyce Brown. To delete the paragraph on establishment of a National Volunteer Training Corps.

AMENDMENT: by Ernst Papanek. To be added to the second section on Education after "future military service": "This compensation should be considered as money earned by their apprenticeship or by adding to the educational work load studies in higher education."

The section on Education and Early Education was referred back to the Domestic Platform Committee to be reported back to the Convention.

AMEND.: by Lawrence Tepper. To insert: "The Socialist Party denounces the depletion of our natural resources by private corporations and other private-mad promoters who are desecrating the beauty and natural resources of the nation.

"In many areas of the nation there is a growing problem of air pollution, destruction of wild life, and depletion of natural resources, because of irresponsible use of fuel as well as pesticides and herbicides.

"We urge a strong action by government on all levels to preserve natural resources and to prevent further pollution of the atmosphere." REFERRED FAVORABLY TO THE SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.

AMEND.: by Ernst Papanek. To be added to the section New Definitions of Work the following: "Man likes to work and wants to contribute to and to promote with his work his own well-being, the well-being of his family, of his nation, and of the human race. The youth of today is not only excluded from the economic participation in work, they are also

deprived of this most essential emotional participation therein. Mankind, the employed and unemployed, young and old, and those who are employed but whose work is dishonored today, become more and more alienated from it because of the dishonorable organization of work at the interest of private exploitation. We want to reinstate for every individual the dignity, honor, and joy of work in the interest of cooperation and to the benefit of all human beings." APPROVED FOR INSERTION AFTER EDITING.

AMEND.: by Peter Meyer. To delete under New Definitions of Work the item beginning "The utilization of the skills of the aging..." DEFEATED.

AMEND.: by Carl Dahlgren. To substitute for the section on New Definitions of Work the following: "So long as physical and mental labor continue to be necessary to provide a decent living, we should make every effort to reduce the amount of labor required. At the same time we should strive to distribute the available work among all those who desire to work.

"The virtue of work was forced upon us down through history to keep the masses from reading or becoming philosophers. Let us as Socialists not be the last to welcome the new era when leisure and all its fruits will replace subsistence and drudger." DEFEATED.

AMEND.: by William Hart. To delete item #3 on "The Recognition of Non-Fighting Gangs." CARRIED.

AMEND.: by Charles Davis. To insert where the deletion was made on the above amendment, the following: "The recognition of natural teen-age groups in the slums as effective social agencies, with financial support to the groups and the possibility of payment to their officers as non-professional social workers." CARRIED.

AMEND.: by Paul Albright. To insert: "Socialists are insistent that society must provide for every individual both an adequate income and the opportunity for socially useful work, at tasks suited to his own individual talents and potential, so that all Americans may live in dignity with work and income." ACCEPTED TO WORKED IN BY EDITING COMMITTEE.

AMEND.: by Martin Oppenheimer. To add in a special section before the conclusion the following: "No discussion of poverty can be complete without referring to the potential impact of arms setbacks and disarmament on the economy. Without planning, disarmament can have catastrophic consequences for unemployment. Some 10% of the labor force is presently dependent on arms spending, but in some areas this is much higher. This is so well understood by American workers that many of them fear arms cuts because they realize that such cuts might imperil their jobs. What has not been made sufficiently clear to the American people is that with planning arms cuts can release tremendous financial and manpower resources which can help solve the many social problems associated with poverty.

"The civil rights movement, the trade union movement, and other groups who by their nature must become involved with the war on poverty will have to confront the issue of disarmament sooner or later. Their demands for better schools, better housing, etc., force a reconsideration of our national priorities, which run heavily (over 50% of the Federal budget) to arms. In a sense, therefore, the war on poverty is linked to the disarmament issue. In the same way, the effect of disarmament, insofar as it can release resources, is linked to the war on poverty.

"We do not, as many others do, underestimate the political obstacles to planning for disarmament, or to the use of resources now involved in military profiteering for the good of people. The civil rights movement, the trade unions, and others involved in the war on poverty, will ultimately have to confront and deal with these obstacles." REFERRED FAVORABLY TO THE INCOMING NC.

Sunday, May 31, 1964

The Convention was called to order at 10:15 by Chairman Julius Bernstein.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE REPORT

Seymour Kopilow presented the report for the Constitution Committee. The Committee recommended the following amendment to the constitution: to add to Article IX Dues and Finances, the following new section: "Section 6. International Dues, i.e. dues for payment to the Socialist International, shall be paid by all members in addition to their normal dues. The International dues shall be $1 per member; with dual members paying a total of $2. The International dues shall be paid annually. Where dues are paid to locals on a monthly basis, the International dues may be paid on a similar basis." CARRIED.

MOTION: by Don Anderson. In Section 3, Article VII, add the following sentence at the end of the section: "For the purpose of determining whether a delegate has been a member of the Party for 18 months, YPSL membership may be included to the extent of twelve (12) months as membership in the Party." CARRIED.

This amendment was submitted by Don Anderson, Thomas Greenspon, William Allen, Walter Martin, Carlie Anderson, Debbie Meier, William Hart, Erwin Koth, Martin Oppenheimer, Charles Davis, Walter Benson, Paul Benson.

MOTION: to adopt the constitution as amended. CARRIED.

The proceedings were interupted at this time to take the election of the National Committee, which was done by preferential voting under the Hare system.

MOTION: by Darlington Hoopes. To create the post of Honorary Chairman of the Socialist Party and to elect Norman Thomas to this post. CARRIED BY ACCLAMATION.

Fraternal delegate Irving Abrams presented the greetings from the Workmen's Circle. David Shier and Hirschel Goldfarb were also fraternal delegates from the Workmen's Circle.

A fund appeal to the delegates was made by Samuel H. Friedman in behalf of the National Office, whose difficulty in functioning during the summer months is well known. The following pledges were made by locals: New York City, $500; Washington, D.C., $100; South Side Chicago, $150; Local Boston, $50; Local Nassau, $150; Local Cleveland, $250; Local Suffolk, $50; Local Boulder, $100; Local Bloomington, $30; Local San Francisco, $100; Wisconsin, $150; Center City Branch, Philadelphia, $50; Kentucky members, $50. A number of individual pledges were made: Ben Williger, $100; Sam Friedman, $50; Paul Albright, $20; Darlington Hoopes, $10; Reuben Kunoff, $10; Francis Heisler, $20. One/sixth of the pledges were paid immediately in cash.

The tellers reported that 12% of the ballots had been marked with 17 choices instead of 16, the error being in a duplication of one of the numbers from 1 to 16. Recommendation by the Committee: Where a person had voted for 2 different candidates with the same number (two 4's, two 9's, etc.), the tellers count each duplicated vote as $3\frac{1}{2}$, $8\frac{1}{2}$, etc., and move the other votes down one until the bottom of the list was reached, thus dropping the last person numbered. ACCEPTED.

MOTION: To accept the Committee document as amended. CARRIED.

William Hart requested permission to submit a resolution on Penology to the Resolutions Committee, despite the deadline for resolutions having passed. His request failed to obtain the necessary two thirds vote.

MOTION: by Darlington Hoopes. To suspend the rules and take up nominations for the National Committee now. DEFEATED.

FOREIGN POLICY PLATFORM

Saul Mendelson reported for the Foreign Policy Platform Committee that the Committee unanimously recommended the Norman Thomas draft for Foreign Policy as amended by the Platform Committee. The Committee proposed a 15 minute presentation of its document followed by a 15 minute presentation of the Ephraim Friend alternative document, with three speakers of 5 minutes each on each document, after which the Convention would decide which document to discuss as a basis of amendment. The Committee then recommended a 1½ hour general discussion, followed by votes on the amendments and a vote on the final platform.

MOTION: To adopt the procedure as outlined by the Committee. CARRIED.

Saul Mendelson, speaking for the Foreign Policy Platform Committee, presented their document, followed by the Ephraim Friend presentation for his document.

MOTION: To suspend the agenda and take the election of National Chairman and nominations for the National Committee at this time. CARRIED.

Darlington Hoopes was re-elected National Chairman by acclamation.

Nominations for the National Committee were:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Robert Alexander (N.J.) | Michael Harrington (N.Y.) | Saul Mendelson (Ill.) |
| Julius Bernstein (Mass.) | William Hart (Wisc.) | Peter Meyer (Ill.) |
| Bernard Bolitzer (N.Y.) | Peter Irons (D.C.) | Martin Oppenheimer (Pa.) |
| Bill Briggs (Calif.) | Seymour Kopilow (N.Y.) | Rudi Pakalns (N.Y.) |
| Joyce Brown (Calif.) | Erwin Koth (Wisc.) | Ernst Papanek (N.Y.) |
| Samuel Estrin (N.Y.) | Archie Lieberman (N.J.) | Seymour Steinsapir (N.Y.) |
| Samuel H. Friedman (N.Y.) | David McReynolds (N.Y.) | Irwin Suall (N.Y.) |
| Alex Garber (Calif.) | Debbie Meier (Ill.) | Arlon Tussing (Calif.) |

FOREIGN POLICY (continued)

Three speakers spoke for the Friend document and two speakers spoke for the Committee document. There were no other speakers for the Committee document seeking the floor.

MOTION: by David Fineman. To put the Norman Thomas original draft on the floor for detailed consideration. DEFEATED.

MOTION: To accept the Friend document as a basis for discussion. DEFEATED.

MOTION: To accept the Norman Thomas draft as revised by the Platform Committee. CARRIED.

ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE COMMITTEE REPORT

Syd Bykofsky presented the Organization and Finance Committee report (see appendix). In reporting on item #2 of a recommended Socialist "war on poverty," he asked for new pledges to the pledge plan, and a number of comrades responded by making pledges of from $1 to $10 a month to the National Office.

AMENDMENT: by William Allen. To add to the Committee report: "We recommend that a national organizing committee be appointed by the National Committee with power to coordinate all organizing activity, literature, and a speakers' bureau. Further, we recommend that such a committee obtain the services of some effective comrade to act as full time National Organizer. We further recommend that 20% of all dues be ear-marked for the proposed National Organizing Committee."

The Organization and Finance Committee reported that it would accept the amendment without the 20% of dues provision.

AMENDMENT TO AMENDMENT: by Don Anderson. That the Organizing Committee be directed to canvass the Party in order to set up a separate pledge plan for it.

MOTION: by Mike Parker. To refer the amendment favorably to the National Committee. CARRIED.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE REPORT

Seymour Steinsapir, reporting for the Resolutions Committee, indicated: (1) that the Charles Davis resolution on labor and the Draper motion on the repeal of the Taft-Hartly and Landrum-Griffin Acts be approved and referred for editing; that the domestic platform take up a section on labor; CARRIED.

(2) on a resolution on civil rights in Mississippi and the civil rights protest at the Democratic and Republican Party conventions, that we refer this favorably to the NC, indicating support for the Mississippi civil rights delegation to the conventions and the protest against the racist method of electing party delegates and to instruct the National Committee to pass a resolution on this; CARRIED.

(3) that the Charles Davis resolution on conservation be passed. CARRIED.

MOTION: To accept the Committee report. CARRIED.

PRESS AND EDUCATION COMMITTEE REPORT

The following recommendations were made unanimously by the Committee: (1) that the NAC be instructed to have published an organizational pamphlet along the lines of the pamphlet "We Have A Vision" and perhaps a reprint of that pamphlet, to be available free to individuals and locals requesting bundle orders;

(2) that members be urged to use their rights under the FCC Act to get equal time on TV and radio for Socialist Programs, and that Local Colombia, Mo., provide technical assistence for this;

(3) that the NC be instructed to produce a series of basic pamphlets

by mimeograph for general education;

(4) that members of the Editorial Board of New America representing the various points of view in the Party be appointed on the basis of their editorial skills as well as their political leadership; further, that a committee, consisting of the business manager, the editor of New America, and the National Secretary, be appointed to assume the responsibility for authorizing the financial aspects of promoting the publication and coordinating this activity;

(5) that the Editor, Business Manager, and Editorial Committee be instructed to refrain from conducting fund appeals during that period of the year when the Party is conducting a national fund appeal; further, that the NAC be requested to determine and announce before the Party's annual fund drive is instigated that a particular percentage of all funds so raised be earmarked for the use of New America;

(6) the Committee recommends that the Platform Editing Committee, if such a committee be appointed, be urged to complete their duties as quickly as possible; it further recommends that the NAC be charged with the duty of publishing the 1964 Platform, mimeographed if necessary, and mailing one copy to each Party member on or before July 1, 1964, if at all possible, so that comrades may have the Party's position on issues before them during the entire 1964 election campaign.

Majority Committee Recommendation: that ½ page of each issue of New America be devoted to basic Socialist theory, organizational and recruitment material.

MOTION: to refer to the NC. CARRIED.

Majority Committee Recommendation: that all new members joining the Party (or the YPSL) be automatically granted a 1 year subscription to New America without additional cost and that renewal after such year be left to the discretion of the individual member.

Minority Resolution: that a subscription to New America be considered to be incorporated with membership in the Party, and that accordingly our regular dues and the dues of YPSL members joining the Party be increased to include a subscription to New America in amount not to exceed publication and mailing costs, such an amount to be set by the NAC in consultation with the Business Manager of New America.

Further, that the Committee suggest that the National Committee of the Party firmly urge that the YPSL similarly increase their dues to so include a subscription to New America.

MOTION: To accept the majority recommendation. CARRIED.

AMENDMENT: That this provision in the majority recommendation be made retroactive to January 1, 1964. DEFEATED.

The Committee reported as a majority resolution the following suggestion as a preamble to its report: "The Press and Education Committee feels that New America has inadequately represented the views of the Party majority. It holds that the dominant line and image of New America has been one which has not adequately posed socialist alternatives to the status quo; rather, New America has too frequently contented itself with playing the role of a loyal left critic of the U.S. government, the Democratic Party, and the leaderships of establishments in the labor, liberal, and even civil rights movements.

"We believe New America could attract the attention and loyalty of Party members,

youth and activists in various movements. But, failing a new policy, New America does not fill any real need for either members or activists in mass organizations.

"The Committee therefore recommends:

a) that New America engage itself more in the intra-movement discussions and controversies of our time, e.g. in civil rights, nonviolence versus armed defense, and the current controversy between the regular civil rights organizations and the so-called "irresponsibles."

b) that New America's editorial policy and the bulk of news articles accurately reflect the sentiments of the majority.

c) that New America engage itself to some degree in discussion of socialist issues, e.g. the role of the International, workers' councils, perspectives for American Socialism, etc.

CARRIED.

Majority Committee Resolution: We recommend that there be established a three-member Editorial Committee appointed by and directly responsible to the National Committee to function as a supervisory committee for New America replacing that function of the National Action Committee, and provided that the present form and function of the New America Board be retained. DEFEATED.

MOTION: by Joan Suall. To refer the entire report to the National Committee.

MOTION: by Max Weinrib. To table the report. DEFEATED.

The Chairman ruled that Seymour Steinsapir would not be allowed to introduce a third motion, since a vote was in process. Comrade Steinsapir challenged the chair, and Comrade Draper assumed the chair for the vote. The chair was upheld.

A role call vote was demanded on the motion to refer the report of the Press and Education Committee to the National Committee:

| FOR | AGAINST |
|---|---|
| George Papcun | Harry Siitonen |
| Barney Cohen | Joyce Brown |
| Bogdan Denitch | Ann Draper |
| Arlon Tussing | Paul Albright |
| Norman Satir | Mickey Porges |
| Jim Burnett | Lawrence Tepper |
| Frank Byers | Peter Irons |
| Alex Carber | Neil Maclay |
| Gene Yaeger | Ben Williger |
| Harold Schlagel | Saul Mendelson |
| Sallee Milstein | Peter Meyer |
| Tom Milstein | Ken Burg |
| Debbie Meier | David Komatsu |
| Marion Shier | Charles Van Tassel |
| Rose Weinrib | Lula White |
| Max Weinrib | Harry Winthrop |
| Marilyn Blumfield | Brom Bassford |
| Julie Bernstein | Ian McMahan |

| FOR | AGAINST |
|---|---|
| Bonnie Mullens | Sam Bottone |
| Seymour Kopilow | Martin Oppenheimer |
| Ephraim Friend | Walt Lively |
| Reuben Kunoff | Elizabeth Young |
| Bernie Bolitzer | Carl Benson |
| Sid Bykofsky | Walter Benson |
| Samuel Estrin | William Hart |
| Paul Feldman | Erwin Koth |
| Samuel Friedman | Joe Stetson |
| Dick Gumpert | Tom Greenspon |
| Norman Hill | Earl Herrick |
| Rachelle Horowitz | Carlie Anderson |
| Penn Kemble | Don Anderson |
| Rudi Pakalns | Rick Congress |
| Ernst Papanek | William Allen |
| Seymour Steinsapir | Walter Martin |
| Irwin Suall | Tom Barton |
| Joan Suall | Kit Komatsu |
| Joe Davidson | Joel Weiner |
| David Fineman | |

ABSTAIN: Michael Parker, Jack Cypin, Betty Elkin, David McReynolds

For: 38; Against: 37; Abstain: 4. CARRIED.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ELECTIONS

The vote for National Committee was recorded as follows:

| Elected: | | Not Elected: | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Michael Harrington, N.Y. | 668 | Arlon Tussing, Calif. | 397 |
| William Briggs, Calif. | 637 | Bernard Bolitzer, N.Y. | 382 |
| Saul Mendelson, Ill. | 598 | Peter Irons, D.C. | 361½ |
| Seymour Steinsapir, N.Y. | 564 | William Hart, Wisc. | 332½ |
| Peter Meyer, Ill. | 549 | Rudi Pakalns, N.Y. | 314 |
| Julius Bernstein, Mass. | 540½ | Samuel Estrin, N.Y. | 184½ |
| Samuel Friedman, N.Y. | 537 | Archie Lieberman, N.J. | 171 |
| Debbie Meier, Ill. | 515½ | Erwin Koth, Wisc. | 142 |
| David McReynolds, N.Y. | 512 | | |
| Robert Alexander, N.J. | 495 | | |
| Joyce Brown, Calif. | 492 | | |
| Martin Oppenheimer, Pa. | 468½ | | |
| Irwin Suall, N.Y. | 468 | | |
| Ernst Papanek, N.Y. | 434½ | | |
| Alex Garber, Calif. | 423 | | |
| Seymour Kopilow, N.Y. | 415½ | | |

NOMINATIONS FOR NATIONAL COMMITTEE ALTERNATES

William Allen, Mo.
Don Anderson, Ind.
Bernard Bolitzer, N.Y.
Ken Burg, Ill.
Jim Burnett, Calif.
Sid Bykofsky, N.Y.
Tom Condit, Calif.
Betty Elkin, N.Y.
Sam Estrin, N.Y.
Paul Feldman, N.Y.
Norman Hill, N.Y.
Rachelle Horowitz, N.Y.
Peter Irons, D.C.
Phyllis Jacobson, N.Y.
Tom Kahn, N.Y.
Penn Kemble, N.Y.
Ian McMahan, N.Y.
Tom Milstein, Colo.
Rudi Pakalns, N.Y.
Irving Panken, N.Y.
Dick Roman, Calif.
Dan Thomas, Ohio
Rob Tucker, Pa.
Arlon Tussing, Calif.
Charles Van Tassel, Ill.
Virgel Vogel, Ill.
Ben Williger, Ill.
Alex Wollod, Pa.
Gene Yeager, Colo.

FOREIGN POLICY PLATFORM

The Convention proceeded to discussion of the Foreign Policy platform which had been postponed from the previous day. During the discussion, twenty-five amendments were proposed. The amendments were all referred to the Foreign Platform Committee to choose the major substantive ones for discussion on the floor at a later time. The amendments are as follows:

Amendment I: by Ephraim Friend: to substitute for the first paragraph on p. 4 of the Committee document the following: "The course of the war in Vietnam demonstrates how disastrous are the consequences of relying completely on military force in combating Communism.

"It also reveals how self-defeating was the policy of support to the authoritarian and military regimes in South Vietnam and failing to press consistently for free democratic institutions and social reform.

"The fight against the Viet Minh complex, which is allied with, and dependent on, expansionist China, must be democratized if the tragedy of the loss of South East Asia to Communism is to be averted.

"Victory for the Viet Cong would probably result in the immediate slaughter of hundreds of thousands of peasants, liberals, and radicals, as occured in North Vietnam after the assumption of power by Ho Chi Minh. This success would give tremendous impetus to the subjugation to the rest of non-Russian Asia, possibly including India.

"Neutralization, at this point, is not achievable. Until the balance of regional power is changed, neutralization can serve only as a polite formula to dress up the actuality of withdrawal and abandonment.

"There is no alternative, at this point, to continued resistance except surrender. This resistance can have some chance of success only if the war is democratized. We urge the American people to press for the democratization of the war."

Amendment II: by Ephraim Friend. To delete item #3 in paragraph 5, p. 1.

Amendment III: by Ernst Papanek. On p. 2, at the end of the paragraph continued from p. 1, add: "The Socialist Party expresses its continuous solidarity with the people in Spain, Haiti, the Baltic States, and in every country occupied by a foreign power or totalitarian rule. We put this expression of solidarity into our Foreign Affairs Platform to draw again the attention of the American people to the danger which dictatorship in any country implies for a peaceful international policy.

Amendment IV: by Ernst Papanek. At the end of #4, on p. 7, add: "We urge implementation of the Socialist International's program for contribution by all nations of 1% of their national income to the United Nations administered SUNFED in support of nations in need."

Amendment V: by Bogdan Denitch. To insert on p. 2 at the end of the 1st paragraph: "A major responsibility is placed on the Socialist Parties throughout the world to develop a genuine Socialist alternative to Communism and the status quo. This requires as a start the disengagement of the Socialist Parties and Trade Unions from the cold war politics of their own bloc. This requires a break with the foreign policy which has been based on support of NATO and alliance with the United States.

Amendment VI: by Ian McLahan. On page 7, for the last paragraph beginning "For six years," substitute: "The European Economic Community is essentially a recognition of this need for social planning and an attempt to implement it on a reactionary basis. So long as the de Gaulles/and Erhards control the EEC and resist the demands of the European workers' movement for democratic planning institutions, the EEC will be a weapon of the European cartels and their American friends against the peoples of Europe. We urge our sister parties of the International and their trade union sections to take immediate steps toward a unified Socialist front in Europe which can resist the encroachments of the capitalist front of the EEC."

Amendment VII: by Peter Irons. On p. 3, section on the UN, insert before the last sentence: "However, before the UN can be an effective insurant for securing peace and freedom, it must be democratized and the veto power of the big powers in the Security Council (which give them assertive control) must be ended."

Amendment VIII: by Joe Davidson. On page 4, paragraph 3, delete from the words, "but under no circumstances, etc."

Amendment IX: by Joe Davidson. On page 5, paragraph 1, after the word "Poland" add "the Sudentenland and East Prussia."

Amendment X: by Joe Davidson. On page 6, paragraph 3, delete item #2.

Amendment XI: by Joe Davidson. Insert in the section on Latin America: "We urge strong political and material support to the peasant government of Venezuela and vigorously condemn the Castro and Stalinist attacks under the guise of National Liberation."

Amendment XII. by Joyce Brown. On p. 3, last paragraph, delete the remainder of the paragraph, from the words, "However, America supported the Diem regime," and substitute; "America has supported the Diem regime and its successors which, with their harassment of political opposition and forced removal of peasants from their villages, have been unable to carry on any kind of effective policy against the Viet Cong. In South Vietnam the U.S. must back democratic social reform and political freedom."

Amendment XIII. by Joyce Brown. On p. 4, delete paragraph 3 beginning, "Therefore, the Socialist Party demands," and substitute the following: "The point which must be stressed is that the U.S. government has been carrying on a war against the people of

South Vietnam. Therefore, the Socialist Party demands immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and aid from South Vietnam and all possible effort by negotiation to bring about neutralization in that country."

Amendment XIV: by Joyce Brown. On p. 3, add to section b, "and destruction of existing stock piles," and add a section d, "unilateral withdrawal from all foreign military bases."

Amendment XV: by David McReynolds. Insert on p. 3 before the section, "Strengthening the UN,": "But even if all these steps were to fail, we would then say that since the use of nuclear weapons is unthinkable but since, however, their possession makes their use possible, we must proceed to the unilateral dismantling of American nuclear power, whether or not any other nation follows suit. In the final analysis no decent society can be preserved from destruction or decay by the balance of terror. In the nuclear age we must look to new methods of defence--we must seriously examine the concept of non-violence which spurred the liberation of India under Ghandi's leadership and which has been the weapon of the American Negro in his struggle to liberate this nation from the stain of racism."

Amendment XVI: by Ken Burg. To substitute for the section entitled "Middle East" on p. 4 the following: "The Socialist Party believes that the U.S. and the UN should use all possible influence to bring about not merely an end of threats but a positive peace on the following principles: (1) The goal of Arab unity or federation is desirable; (2) The best interests of the Middle East would be served by regional disarmament and economic cooperation of Arab states with Israel, especially in allotment of water; (3) Israel should establish and maintain equality of citizenship for Jews and Arabs in Israel and should make every effort to readmit Arab refugees on a basis of full equality and compensation for their confiscation laws and property.

Amendment XVII: by Anne Draper. On p. 7, in the paragraph beginning, "Hence, the importance," delete the first half of the second sentence so that it will begin with "The American programs of assistence have sagged both in quality and quantity of aid provided, etc."

Amendment XVIII: by Barney Cohen. To replace the entire section on Latin America including Cuba with: "U.S. policy in Latin America has long been a sorry mess. Support to democratic administrations like Venezuela is heavily overbalanced by the pattern of repeated support for military juntas and reactionary dictatorships. The heralded program of economic aid in the form of Alliance for Progress proves to be insufficient. Too often it is directed to the traditional and corrupt propertied classes who permit only a trickle to seep down into the lower levels of society. Given the situation where most countries there are already 'two nations' and where the rate of population growth is the greatest in the world, the failure to maximize the stimulation of production leaves the masses in a state of absolute impoverization. The revolution of higher expectations is thus being frustrated. Decades of U.S. imperialist exploitation have contributed to these disastrous consequences which are so intolerable that the appeals of Communism fall on attentive ears.

"In Cuba the high hopes associated with the 1959 revolution against a U.S. puppet have ended in betrayal. Castro quickly took up a course toward totalitarian collectivism Under the name of socialism, the present Cuban regime victimizes the workers and peasants

We Democratic Socialists oppose the Castro regime. Just as we support the trade unions and democratic forces throughout Latin America, we similarly support the democratic forces and the trade unionists in Cuba in their struggles against Castro. In line with this, we support those Cuban refugees who align themselves with the Cuban internal democratic forces.

"To the U.S. we propose that diplomatic relations with Cuba be immediately normalized and that negotiations for the resumption of trade relations be opened. Trade with Cuba should not be opened in such a way as to underscore and underwrite the Cuban regime, but rather as a means of encouraging the developing of democratic institutions. Along with this and in the same way we further propose that the U.S. discontinue its air reconaissance over Cuba and withdraw from the Guantanamo naval base. Under no circumstances should the U.S. pursue a military solution or repeat the Bay of Pigs invasion. Such military action only drives the Cuban population back into the arms of Castro and thus destroys the basis of an internal opposition.

"If the U.S. wishes to isolate and defeat Communism in Cuba, let it curb every form of interference in the political life of Latin America by U.S. business corporations. Let the U.S. extend the hand of friendship to those revolutionary democratic forces who represent the masses of the Latin American people themselves. Let the U.S. make clear that it is as implacably hostile to right wing dictatorships as it is to Communist dictatorships. And let it return to Panama the sovereighty over the Canal Zone and permit an internationalization of the canal itself."

Amendment XIX: by Dick Gumpert. To insert at the end of the section, "Disengagement from Military Commitment," the following: "In the years since the last great war the demands of the underdeveloped nations for the right to determine their own destiny has been a major world force. Across Africa, across Asia, across Latin America the peoples are driving out the agents of imperialism, exploitation and feudalism in their search for a just and fraternal society. In Tanganyika, in South Africa, in Angola the forces of progress battle against the decadence of colonialism and repression. In the meanwhile, however, the purveyors of deceit have not been dormant. Both capitalism and Communism persistently seek to subvert and abort the revolution. The Stalinists, Maoists and C.I.A. constantly and continually attempt to pervert the course of freedom to their own ends.

"Neither capitalism nor Communism of any variety can bring the anti-colonial revolution to its full and proper culmination. Neither the subjugation to the state machine of Communism or subordination to the profit machine of capitalism can satisfy the democratic cravings of anti-imperialism for a society of economic, political, and social democracy.

"We as Socialists fully support the effort to install democracy in the underdeveloped nations and call upon socialists, trade unionists, democrats, liberals, progressives, and the International Socialist and Trade Union movements to fully encourage and support, physically and financially, and participate with to the fullest extent of their capabilities, the Socialist and democratic revolutionary forces seeking to institute social democracy."

Amendment XX: by Lowen Berman and Don Anderson. On p. 7, to delete the paragraph beginning "For six years the EEC," and substitute the following: "The Socialist Party, U.S.A., supports the program of the Social Democratic Parties and labor unions of the Common Market countries in which:"

Amendment XXI: by Lowen Berman and Don Anderson. To add wherever convenient a broad denunciation of travel bans anywhere, not just in China.

Amendment XXII: by Samuel H. Friedman. To substitute for the entire section on Berlin and Central Europe the following: "The Berlin wall remains a symbol not only of divided Germany but of the need felt by the Communist masters of East Germany to imprison their subjects in their Communist 'paradise.' We support the legitimate desire of the German people, like any other people, to unite their nation. At the same time it is clear that this course will be possible only under circumstances in which a united Germany is not regarded as a military threat either to its neighbors or to the world.

"In the interest of peace and of stability, we favor formal recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as the boundary between Germany and Poland. We urge serious consideration by the American government of proposals looking toward a genuinely demilitarized area in Central Europe, including Germany. We favor continuation of the U.S. guarantee to the people of West Berlin of access to their city...a great free metropolis which is governed by the German Social Democratic Party.

"The only ultimate solution to the problem of Germany lies in unification under democracy of that nation. It is toward that end that our government should work."

Amendment XXIII: by Ephraim Friend. On p. 3, in the paragraph on China: Delete the sentence, "Our American policy toward China is perhaps the greatest single factor," and substitute, "Our American policy toward China is one of the factors."

Amendment XXIV: by Paul Albright. On p. 7, in the paragraph beginning, "Almost as important as conservation," substitute the word "free" for "freer" in the second sentence.

Amendment XXV: by Samuel H. Friedman. To delete the sentence marked "(3)" in the section on the Middle East.

DOMESTIC PLATFORM DISCUSSION (continued)

The Domestic Platform Committee, with Debbie Meier reporting, presented a redraft of the Education and Early Education sections of the Domestic Platform (see appendix).

MOTION: to accept the Committee draft. CARRIED.

The Committee also presented a civil rights platform as prepared by Tom Kahn and amended by the Committee (see appendix). The Committee also recommended that a brief section be added to the civil rights section on other minority groups, especially Indians and Orientals, somewhat similar to the one in the Meyer document.

AMENDMENT: by Ken Burg. On p. 4, to add to the paragraph beginning, "But that goal cannot be achieved," the following sentence: "We urge Negroes and their allies to demand that all candidates for office support all these congressional reforms." ACCEPTED.

AMENDMENT: by Samuel H. Friedman. To delete "abolishing all literacy requirements" on p. 3 and to substitute "substitution for present state-administered literacy requirements

which are so often used to bar minorities from the ballot, of a federal test rigidly and honestly administered by federal officers to prevent discrimination of any kind."
DEFEATED.

AMENDMENT: by Walter Lively. To add a section indicating our criticism of state civil rights commissions which drag their feet and hinder the advance of civil rights.
DEFEATED.

AMENDMENT: by Anne Draper. To add to the demand "clearence of all slums" the following: "and that all previous occupants be guaranteed better housing at fair prices when they move out."
ACCEPTED.

The Committee also recommended that the NC add a plank on labor.

MOTION: by Ken Burg. That the Meyer document on labor and the statement on civil liberties prepared by the pre-Convention Platform Committee be referred to the NC for possible inclusion in the platform.
CARRIED.

MOTION: by George Papcun. To add to the statement on civil liberties the following: "We condemn the action of the FBI and the police generally in infiltrating left wing, civil rights organizations. We condemn the efforts on telephone tapping and invasions of privacy by use of various devices for listening in on a citizen's home or place of business."

Comrade Papcun also asked that something be included on free travel to all countries.

MOTION: to refer the Papcun suggestions to the NC.
CARRIED.

MOTION: to accept the Committee report.
CARRIED.

ELECTION OF NC ALTERNATES

The vote on the NC alternates is as follows:

| Elected: | | Not Elected: | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Anderson, Ind. | 426½ | Irons, D.C. | 237 |
| Tussing, Calif. | 390 | Van Tassel, Ill. | 233 |
| Allen, Mo. | 377 | Pakalns, N.Y. | 217 |
| Hill, N.Y. | 363½ | Yeager, Colo. | 192½ |
| Feldman, N.Y. | 340 | Burg, Ill. | 165 |
| Kahn, N.Y. | 334 | Burnett, Calif. | 164 |
| Horowitz, N.Y. | 331½ | Condit, Calif. | 157 |
| Jacobson, N.Y. | 330 | Bykofsky, N.Y. | 154½ |
| McMahan, N.Y. | 292 | Williger, Ill. | 148½ |
| Elkin, N.Y. | 267 | Estrin, N.Y. | 107 |
| Panken, N.Y. | 265 | Wollod, Pa. | 104 |
| Bolitzer, N.Y. | 242 | Tucker, Pa. | 78 |
| | | Milstein, Colo. | 72 |
| | | Thomas, Ohio | 55 |
| | | Vogel, Ill. | 43½ |
| | | Kemble, N.Y. | 35 |
| | | Roman, Calif. | 22½ |

YOUTH COMMITTEE REPORT

Charles Van Tassel reported for the Youth Committee, presenting at the same time the YPSL Secretary's report (see both in appendix).

MOTION: to accept the Committee's report. CARRIED.

FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE REPORT (continued)

The Committee reported that they wished to bring to the floor four substantive amendments and to refer the rest to the National Committee. They recommended that the makers of the amendments give a five minute report, followed by five minutes from the Committee and with three minutes for speakers both for and against from the floor. The procedure was adopted.

FRIEDMAN AMENDMENT XXII on Berlin and Central Europe. DEFEATED.

MCREYNOLDS AMENDMENT XV on Unilateral Disarmament. DEFEATED.

COHEN AMENDMENT XVIII on Latin America and Cuba.

MOTION: by Arlon Tussing. To refer to the NC. DEFEATED.

Vote on Cohen amendment: DEFEATED.

DENITCH AMENDMENT V on Socialist Parties.

MOTION: by James Burnett. To refer favorably to the National Committee. DEFEATED.

Vote on Denitch amendment: CARRIED.

MOTION: by Bogdan Denitch. To adopt the Foreign Policy Platform as so far amended and refer the rest of the amendments to the NC. CARRIED.

MOTION: by Saul Mendelson. That the Convention strongly urge the National Committee to call a National Conference on Foreign Affairs under the auspices of the Socialist Party. CARRIED.

MOTION: TO thank Local Chicago and the State of Illinois Organization for their hospitality during the Convention and also to express appreciation for the skilled and courteous help of the secretarial and office staff. CARRIED.

MOTION: To adjourn the 1964 Convention. CARRIED.

HARRINGTON RESOLUTION ON THE POLITICAL ACTION DEBATE IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY
- Carried as amended

In the first four years of the Sixties, there has been a political and social revival in the United States. In the Civil Rights movement, sit-ins, Freedom Rides, struggles in the streets of Birmingham and the magnificent March on Washington of August, 1963, have challenged the entire society with a new dynamic. The unions, confronted with an automating technology devoted to profit, have begun to raise the demand for massive public intervention and planning. The peace movement helped carry its proposal for an end to nuclear testing from the province of a small critical minority to United States Senate approval for the Moscow Treaty.

We expect this ferment to continue. How then can the Socialist Party best organize itself for effective action in an immediate future which could well see even more significant developments than in the past four years?

We Socialists have always believed in a frank and public discussion, even of our difficulties. Given the challenge before us, we must speak bluntly and openly if we are to meet our responsibilities.

For at least four years now, the Party has had a continuing, and sometimes sharp, debate over the best tactic to advance the cause of socialism in America. In this discussion several main positions were put forth. Some of our members held that only independent political action could offer an alternative for the progressive forces in this country. They argue that the labor, Civil Rights and other democratic movements must make a decisive break with both of the major parties and establish their own political instrument in the form of a Labor Party.

Other comrades believed that the American democratic Left represented primarily by the labor and Civil Rights movement is, by far and large, committed to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party and felt that socialists should work to aid these forces to become master in their own house, thus creating a new political movement in America through realignment of the two major parties.

Finally, there were those among us who urged that independent Socialist Party electoral action, wherever possible, should be an important means for the creation of a viable, democratic Left in the United States, and for putting the case for Socialism itself.

These positions, as set forth here, are roughly defined. Many nuances and overlappings have been ommitted. Yet this Convention can certainly recognize in these sketchy approximations the main lines of the debate which has consumed the Party during the recent past.

None of these points of view has won a decisive majority in the Party, And given what we know of the internal life of our organization in the time before this Convention, none is likely to carry a majority at this Convention.

Under such circumstances, we see no point in once more repeating a debate which is familiar to practically every delegate to this Convention. More importantly, we believe that the Party will not be able to carry out its socialist responsibilities in the coming period if it primarily concentrates itself on this internal dispute to the detriment of active political intervention in American life.

The Convention therefore urges all comrades and the partisans of all points of view to suspend further debate and controversies on this question for the next period.

The Convention asserts that each of these positions is held by dedicated and militant socialists and that each is completely compatible with socialist principle. Given the Party's inability to come to a clear decision in this question, these various tendencies have, in fact, each pursued its own policy.

This Convention must consciously recognize this reality, and seek a maximum of consultation and minimum of friction among the contending groups within the Party. We declare that activity along any of the lines noted above is permissable. We urge each of the groupings to grant the socialist bona fides of the others, even while maintaining its own distinctive position. In this way, we hope that these contrasting efforts can all converge to advance the cause of socialism in America.

Many of us certainly would prefer a clear decision for our own point of view. Since this resolution is impossible, and the pursuit of it impedes the contribution we can all make, even with our differences, we call upon every member and each grouping to turn toward the movements and needs of the overwhelming majority of Americans and to test their respective views in militant action. Then, stronger as a party and enriched by actual political experience, we can look toward a much more positive discussion and decisions which hopefully will command the support of a united membership.

GUMPERT RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL ACTION - Defeated

The Automative Technological-Cybernetic Revolution affecting America and the world is rapidly forcing the inequities of society to the explosion point. The displacement of men by machines, the elimination of jobs, the world-wide agitation against colonialism (manifested in the U.S. in the Civil Rights Revolution), the persistence of poverty, the burden of high birth rates, the alienation of man, the still present menace of totalitarianism and anti-humanism cry out for solutions. We as Socialists are cognizant of this urgent necessity and of the need to implement a Socialist structure responsive to the needs of our fellow man.

The forces promoting these injustices increasingly militate against man and the decent life. In their war against humanity, they gain more each day and more each time we acquiesce by silence to their challenge. Socialists must now declare themselves at war against this alliance against mankind--a war on all fronts, a political war.

Socialists must build a political army, a united front in favor of human dignity. In the peace movement, in the civil rights movement, in the labor movement we must join with all progressives in this battle.

But, first of all, a political war must be fought in the political arena. It must be carried on in all political fields and with all progressive political allies--socialists, trade unionsts, and liberals.

To this end we urge that the Party initiate Political Action wherever and whenever possible and in whatever manner possible. Wherever feasible, the Party should offer Socialist candidates for office, in which case comrades should not be permitted to support other political parties.

Where independent electoral action is not possible, comrades shall be allowed to enter their support for other progressive elements, provided they have first obtained the permission of the National Committee or the National Action Committee.

P. MEYER RESOLUTION ON ELECTORAL ACTIVITY - Defeated

Whereas the Socialist Party is a political party by its very title,

Therefore, be it Resolved: That the Socialist Party act as a political party by engaging in electoral campaigns in its own name, and,

Be it further resolved: That in every presidential election the Party, at the very least, nominate candidates for president and vice-president; and as many other candidates, national, state and local as it deems feasible.

Redraft by Domestic Platform Committee of section on EDUCATION

Education

The technological society now coming into existence requires higher and higher levels of skill and training. Yet, of the 26 million young Americans entering the economy during the decade of the 60's, 7.6 million will not finish high school and 2.3 million will lack even a grade school education. And many millions of those graduating from our high schools will, in fact, also lack the skills required by our society. In this economy, such education is education for poverty.

Therefore we support:

. . .the principle of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower that this society commit itself to fourteen years of universal, free public education.

. . .the recognition that going to school is a productive activity and should therefore be compensated through a "GI Bill" for all American youth.

. . .the establishment of a National Volunteer Training Corps program, with the financial support and status hitherto accorded NROTC, for preparing young Americans for both international and domestic Peace Corps service.

. . .Federal aid to public education, with money appropriated according to the need as defined by the original Kennedy Task Force rather than the inadequate sums proposed in the present bill.

. . .extensive Federal aid for adult education in the area of vocational training and retraining as well as in the development of liberal arts educational programs for those above high school age.

Early Education

Studies of poverty indicate that the social and psychological maiming of the children of the poor occurs at a very early age. Moreover, crowded, poorly staffed and generally inadequate urban and rural slum schools are often the transmission belt for functional illiteracy. A child who does not learn to read and write in the first three grades is marked as a dropout by the time he reaches eight or nine years. A radically new approach to the organization of urban schools is on the agenda today in many of our major cities. Not only racially integrated but economically and socially heterogeneous classrooms are required, along with many other experimental techniques, to provide an atmosphere of hope and support for children whose everyday experience denies them these things.

We support:

. . .a Federal grant for nursery and pre-school care, particularly in slum areas.

. . .special Federal aid to reduce the teacher-student ratio in the first three grades of school in particular, and for remedial reading facilities.

. . .the utilization of books and other teaching materials which recognize the existence of cities, slums and Negroes rather than reinforcing the American myth that everyone is a white, middle class suburban homeowner (except a few misfits).

. . .the drive of the American Federation of Teachers for collective bargaining, not only because all workers have a right to unions, but also because only a teaching profession that is secure can creatively meet the needs of today's children.

First Draft - WAR ON POVERTY Section of SP Platform - presented by M. Harrington

The Socialist Party believes that the current concern with the national disgrace of poverty offers a most important point of departure for political action.

In part, America owes its new consciousness of this problem to the Negro. The civil rights revolution is the first dynamic movement of militant poverty since the rise of the CIO in the 1930's. It was this irrepressible wave of protest which shattered the "American celebration" of the Eisenhower years and confronted the country, not simply with the issue of race, but with the questions of unemployment, miserable housing and inferior schools as well. The chronic, high levels of joblessness since 1957 becoming more and more obvious and intolerable yearly also prepared the way for a new consciousness.

In this context of a renewal of social action, we Socialists are proud of our role in articulating ideas which grew out of our participation in the common struggle. Our platforms in 1960 and 1962 had identified the peculiar nature of affluent poverty; and it is with this knowledge of having been carrying on the war against poverty long before it was formally announced that we speak on this subject again in 1964.

We propose a Socialist strategy in this war, a long-range view of what must be done, not simply to lift tens of millionsof Americans out of an unconscionable indignity, but to create a just society for all in the process.

We propose a tactic for all men of good will in the war against poverty. For us, these immediate demands and programs are informed by our socialist vision, yet they do not require a socialist commitment in order to be acted upon. We have no intention of remaining aloof from the battle until it formally declares socialist aims. We pledge ourselves to continue to work with all those Americans who hunger for justice--with civil rights militants, with trade unionists, liberals, men of both religious and humanist faith--and our only precondition is that all of us wage this war with all the strength at our command.

## THE SOCIALIST STRATEGY

The Socialist strategy has one basic thought: to make the war against poverty a means not simply of eradicating the misery of the poor, but of creating a just society in America and the world.

Today, poverty is deeply rooted in the institutions of our society. Where resources are primarily allocated on the basis of corporate profit, it is wholly logical to build and rebuild the dwellings of the middle class and the rich every generation and to leave the poor behind. Where the end of economic activity is the balance sheet and not the human need, it makes irrational sense to leave human beings idle, run factories under capacity, and refuse to satisfy the basic necessities of tens of millions of Americans.

In the long run, the struggle against poverty demands that the principle of human needs, as democratically determined, control the allocation of resources instead of the principle of profit.

Let us be specific. America requires the immediate replacement of that 20% of its housing which the Bureau of the Census has declared to be unfit; it must have,

according to the United States Senate Subcommittee Report on Employmet and Manpower, an investment of between $500 and $700 billion just in order to accommodate the increasing urban population over the next 20 years.

The transportation system of almost every major city is becoming more and more chaotic every day.

The educational requirements of our society mount annually. The Secretary of Labor has said that machines now have high school diplomas; the Senate Subcommittee has called for fourteen years of universal, free public schooling.

Our nation's health is in an absurd condition for the most industrially advanced country on the face of the earth: one half of the young men who appear before the Draft Boards fail their examination, half of them for medical reasons, and the other half because they do not have the equivalent of a seventh grade education.

We have these needs: for housing, for transport, for education and for health.

We have the resources to meet these needs, human, material and financial.

There are 5.5% of the American work-force now jobless, and a "true" unemployment figure (counting in under-employment, those forced out of the labor market, etc.) would be nearer 9%. The Office of Economic Opportunity has already warned the nation that, under present conditions, there will be one and a half million unemployed teen-agers in five years. A third of the male youth are now high school dropouts in an economy demanding post high school skills.

These terrible figures could be the description of an advantage if America would only take the opportunity: they represent an immense human resource for meeting the needs of the society as a whole. If they were employed, the war against poverty would not be a war <u>on</u> the poor from above, but a war <u>of</u> the poor.

An essential element of the Socialist strategy is: let us hire the poor to tear poverty down; let us bring the poor together with the rest of the nation in a gigantic effort to build up the entire society.

In times past, such proposals would have been utopian since the general level of economic scarcity made it impossible to speak of such massive social investments. That is not true today.

In the twentieth century, productivity per man hour has grown at a historic rate of 2.5% per year. In recent years, this figure has increased with automation to 3.5% and last year, it might have reached 4%. This technological progress--it ammounted to a $20 billion increase last year--provides the material resource for raising the living standards and the quality of life of all Americans.

If our technology is properly utilized, it can abolish poverty and create a decent society. If it is guided by the profit desires of a minority, it will continue to do what it has done: institutionalize poverty, increase unemployment, create a metropolitan chaos "planned" by speculation.

America, as a consequence of this technology, has the financial means to abolish

poverty. Today, the U.S. spends $12 billion in Federal funds for the custodial care of poverty--and this is a low estimate. The Mayor of New York has announced that 25% of that giant city's budget is devoted to the special miseries of the poor, their increased need for fire and health protection, the juvenile and adult crime problems of the slums, and their other special problems.

Billions will be required to eliminate poverty--but billions are already devoted to maintaining poverty. With the middle class fleeing the central city, taking their taxes to the suburbs and leaving the problems behind, this has created financial problems for every metropolis in America. But there are other costs as well. The persistence of poverty morally corrupts a society which has the means of abolishing it, and it provides a perennial source of bitter, unchanneled conflict and violence. America can no longer afford poverty, financially, morally or socially.

We therefore as our strategy propose joining together the human resources and the human needs, the material capacity and the financial capacity, in a gigantic program, not simply for the poor, but of the poor and everyone else, for a decent society.

To carry out this strategy many things are required. Two of the most important are democratic national planning and a mass political movement which fights in the war against poverty.

There are powerful forces in American life which accept and thrive on poverty. To name only a few of the most obvious, there are the slumlords and real estate speculators, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Farm Bureau, the American Medical Association. They have distinguished themselves at this new moment of national consciousness by a resolute call to march backward socially.

A majority of Americans are for the abolition of poverty. The civil rights movement understood this point dramatically in August, 1963, when it marched for jobs and freedom. The trade union movement must more and more understand this point if automation is not to continue its present career as, in the words of George Meany, a curse rather than a blessing. The migrants and the poor farmers and farm hands, denied the generous subsidies of the agricultural rich of the Farm Bureau, desperately need to participate in the rewards of the most productive farm lands in the world. And millions of middle class people, motivated by reasons of ethics or religion, members of radical and liberal movements, also seek an end to our national indignity.

Thus far, the forces for poverty have been more cohesive and decisive than those against. Every progressive social proposal made in this nation since 1938 has been thwarted or distorted.

In the strategy of the war against poverty, the anti-poverty forces must create a serious political movement, capable of enacting laws as well as proposing platforms. We Socialists differ among ourselves as to how this development will take place, whether through a realignment of the existing parties or the emergence of a mass third party, but we are all committed to the proposition that the war against poverty cannot be conducted by politics as usual. However it will in fact appear, there must be a new political majority in this country--the expression of the real, the numerical and social majority.

And finally, all of these proposals require democratic national planning.

In Western Europe, practically every party and social class has understood the need for national planning: the French conservatives under De Gaulle as well as the Socialists; the British Tories as well as the Labor Party; the Italian Christian Democrats as well as the workers' parties in the government coalition. In Scandinavia, Socialists have demonstrated for over thirty years that planning and freedom are not antagonistic but complementary terms.

In the United States, to a large part because of the willful and well-financed obscurantism of American reaction, planning is still wrongly associated with totalitarianism at the worst and bureaucratic inefficiency at the best.

This nation will have to come of age politically if it is to conquer poverty.

As Socialists, we believe in planning through the democratic allocation of resources and the public control of the commanding heights of the economy. Public corporations like TVA have already made a tremendous contribution to this society, expanding freedom rather than inhibiting it. The giant corporations which dominate this economy are far distant from the individual entrepreneuer of the free enterprise myth. They are huge, rationally structured complexes, often utilizing those planning techniques which they deny the government itself, but still ruled by the socially irrational principle of pursuing profit rather than satisfying human needs.

We are for he democratic ownership and control of these centers of power, these institutions which have more financial resources than most of the states and which make decisions affecting our lives more profoundly than most of the laws of the Congress.

In putting forth these ideas, we do not call for the bureaucratization of American society. The American corporation has already demonstrated an enormous ability to centralize, to bureaucratize, to alienate decision from the great mass of the people. Rather, we propose the only modern alternative to bureaucracy and the tyranny of minorities: the democratization not simply of American politics but of the American economy and society as well.

These, then, are some of the most important elements of a Socialist strategy in the war against poverty. They would direct our social energies toward making this war the means of creating a just and democratic society through the abolition of poverty.

## TACTICS AGAINST POVERTY

As it has been announced by President Johnson and supported by civil rights, labor, and liberal organizations, the current war against poverty is most emphatically not a socialist undertaking. Neither the Administration nor any of its principal allies has proposed a fundamental change in property ownership or the way in which resources are allocated.

Thus, this war is waged on the basis of a reform of capitalism.

As we have made plain, we believe that real success in this struggle leads beyond the limits of the profit economy. At the same time, we support reforms of the present system, because of the conviction that whatever can be done here and now to alleviate human misery must be done, and because we believe that the consciousness of the

necessity of more basic transformation will not come out of the blue but in the process of fighting for immediate gains.

Therefore Socialists join with the most militant and advanced sections of the reform forces to battle in the present to push the limits of the possible as far as they will go.

Some of the most important demands in 1964 are:

Full Employment. There can be no effective beginning of a war against poverty so long as chronic, high unemployment persists. Under such conditions, even the minimal and most modest proposals for job training in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 will fail--because one cannot train a man for a non-existent job.

Toward the aim of full employment, we support:

. . .the AFL-CIO call for an immediate passage of a $2 billion appropriation for accelerated public works, as an urgent first step toward a massive public works program;

. . .the majority proposal of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower for an additional added expenditure of $5 billion a year on socially useful projects;

. . .the building of 2.3 million new dwelling units per year for the next ten years, with the deficiency of privately built housing to be made up by a massive public low cost housing program;

. . .an increase in the Federal minimum wage to $2 an hour; extension of coverage to all workers including farm laborers;

. . .compulsory registration of job vacancies with a revamped and effective United States Employment Service;

. . .the establishment of Federal minimums for State unemployment compensation;

. . .the establishment of unemployment benefits to cover the entire period of unemployment; extension of coverage to all workers not now covered;

. . .decrease in the working day, increases in vacation time and the expansion of the sabbatical principle;

. . .the vesting of pension and other fringe benefit rights for workers;

. . .the "older worker's program" providing adequate income for human beings rendered economically "obsolete" long before they qualify for Social Securtiy.

Depressed Areas. The depressed area legislation passed in the first years of the Kennedy Administration shows the price exacted by the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition: the refusal of funds to many industrial areas; their concentration in the South, often under the control of a white racist power structure; the denial of rational planning procedures.

We support:

. . .the Appalachian Bill, as the beginning of a beginning of a commitment to that region;

. . .the principle of regional authorities in depressed areas planning;

. . .a crash program for education in rural depressed areas;

. . .Federal grants to depressed area community action programs, with the proviso that all groups in a community, and particularly minorities, have a right to participate in the direction of the program;

. . .the creation of TVA type Authorities in the war against poverty in Appalachia, in the Ozarks, and in the Columbia and Missouri River Valleys.

Agriculture. The scandal of poverty in the richest fields in history is well known. In recent years, agricultural productivity and misery have been the simultaneous wonder of the nation. We therefore propose:

. . .the extension of minimum wage and collective bargaining rights to migrants and farm workers;

. . .the expansion of the Migrant Health Act to cover hospital care and medicine;

. . .the planned abolition of the entire pattern of migrant labor through technological progressand the more efficient use of local labor markets;

. . .the loan and grant program for poor farmers under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964;

. . .the planned encouragement of cooperative farming as against corporation farming;

. . .the planned development of a leisure or tourist industry in the rural depressed areas where this is possible.

Planning. We are, as noted before, committed to Socialist planning, with all of its implications of the democratization of the economy. But, short of such a basic transformation, many advantages from planning can be obtained within the context of reforming, but not fundamentally changing, the present system. As immediate steps we favor:

. . .the implementation of the Employment Act of 1946 through the presentation each year by the president of a national full employment budget, making up any deficiencies of job creation in the private sector through public action;

. . .the expansion of the role of the Council of Economic Advisors, which should be charged with projecting growth trends on a long term basis and putting forth legislative remedies for deficiencies in the private and public sector;

. . .the immediate initiation, under the Department of Labor, of a long range manpower study, so as to provide a rational basis for calculation on the part of educators and other planners;

. . .social planning for ways in which to achieve social and racial integration in housing and to transcend the present policy of segregating low-cost housing both by income and by minority status.

Education. The technological society now coming into existance requires higher and higher levels of skill and training. Yet, of the 26 million young Americans entering the economy during the decade of the '60's, 7.6 million will not finish high school and 2.3 million will lack even a grade school education. In this economy, such a situation is education for poverty.

Therefore we support:

. . .the principle of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower that this society commit itself to fourteen years of universal, free public education;

. . .the recognition that going to school is the most productive activity for Americans between the ages of 16 and 21 and should therefore be compensated as work through a "G.I. Bill" for all American youth without reference to their past or future military service;

. . .the establishment of a National Volunteer Training Corps program, with the financial support and status hitherto accorded NROTC, for preparing young Americans for both international and domestic Peace Corps service;

. . .Federal aid to education, with money appropriated according to the need as defined by the original Kennedy Task Force rather than the inadequate sums proposed in the present bill.

Early Education. Studies of poverty more and more indicate that the social and psychological maiming of the children of the poor occurs at a very early age. Moreover, crowded, poorly staffed and inadequate urban and rural slum schools are often the transmission belt for functional illiteracy. A child who does not learn to read and write in the first three grades is marked as a dropout by the time he reaches eight or nine years.

We support:

. . .a Federal grant for nursery and pre-school care, particularly in slum areas;

. . .special Federal aid for reducing the teacher-student ration in the first three grades of school, and for remedial reading facilities.

New Definitions of Work. Part of the enormous problem of poverty in contemporary America is that technology is destroying precisely those skilled and semi-skilled jobs which were once the point of entry into the economy for immigrant and other impoverished groups. This shift in the shape of the American manpower system is a particularly grave burden for Negroes and other minorities who are denied the opportunities which this nation once provided to those at the bottom. With our present knowledge of the future of the labor market, it is clear that there are hundreds of thousands, even millions, who will be unemployable, or fit only for miserable underemployment, so long as our present definitions of work prevail.

We therefore propose that the United States recognize that the elimination of tedious and routine work can be a blessing, for it allows for new definitions of work. Specifically, in the automated economy, the growth industry for jobs is the human care of human beings, the one function which no machine can ever perform.

As a start, here and now, in acting on this principle, we propose a vast expansion of non- and semi-professional social work, and particularly those activities which will involve the poor themselves in the war against poverty. For example, we urge:

. . .the utilization of the skills of the aging, and particularly the aging poor, as part of the expansion of nursery and pre-school education;

. . .the employment of non-professionals as teacher's and social worker's aides;

. . .the recognition of non-fighting gangs in the slums as effective social agencies, with financial support to the groups and the possibility of payment to their officers as non-professional social workers;

. . .the creation of non-professional community service employment in public housing and neighborhood centers;

. . .the expansion of the "home town youth corps" program under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, with special relevance to the training of such volunteers in new types of social work.

## CONCLUSION

These are some of the ideas which we socialists propose for the strategy and tactic of the war against poverty.

Whether viewed in terms of immediate reform or of the long range transformation of the society, each one of these proposals is related to the fundamental options of American life. The poor are only the most obvious victims of a technology which has mastered its creators and anarchically "planned" this nation. But the rest of the people of this country faces these problems as well. It is clearly possible to rescue those who have been left behind by economic progress; but, more than that, it is possible to rescue them in such a way as to create a more decent and democratic society for every American.

It is this understanding of the inter-relation between poor in the affluent society and the spiritual and political poverty of the entire affluent society which is the specifically Socialist contribution to this struggle. We seek, not simply the abolition of the physical and mental poverty of the slums, but the abolition of the less obvious poverty of the "over-developed" society itself. We search the human dimension of life for the poor and for everyone.

# A PROGRAM FOR DEMOCRACY. DRAFT PLATFORM FOR THE 1964 CONVENTION, SOCIALIST PARTY
SUBMITTED BY PETER F. MEYER, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

## INTRODUCTION

We live in an age of plenty. In all ages previous to this one, men have been restricted both as individuals and as a group by their lack of control over both the world they live in and their own society. Men did not understand the world around them, and so they could not control it.

Now science has given us at least the basic knowledge of nature necessary to free man from slavery to it, and with the possibility of control over the things of nature comes the necessity of control over our own social institutions. Within the limits of the present social system, each advance becomes a danger. Automation can greatly reduce the burden of labor, or cause unemployment. Atomic energy can produce vast new power for industry, or destroy civilization. Psychology can free man from inner fears, or be used to brainwash him. We have the capacity to build a stable and prosperous society, more democratic and peaceful than the world has ever seen. Instead, we live with uncertainty and fear, and both democracy and peace seem more remote each day.

The rest of our social problems lies in the method by which our economy is organized, in the organization of production. The division between management and labor, between the making of decisions and their execution, is reflected throughout society. Because the notion of the economy is determined from outside the process of production itself, there are recurrent crises, and the economy moves jerkily, like a puppet on a string. Men rebel against the attempt to make them into robots. Even where there is no conscious struggle against management, there is an unwillingness (and an entirely correct one) to cooperate unnecessarily, to do more than is strictly required, or to point out to management the stupidity of any of its mistakes. This struggle between labor and management, whether open or concealed, conscious or not, is a continual source of disruption and crisis.

Moreover, the division in production is reflected throughout the society: in the proliferation of bureaucracy; in the attempts to control men's private lives; in the principles of hierarchy and subordination, of giving and taking orders, which dominate our social institutions; in a school system geared to the needs of the economy rather than those of the students; in fear, mental illness, alcoholism and drug addiction. Men cannot be robots for half their waking day and free citizens of a democracy the other half. Where men are subordinated to machines, they are also subordinated to other men.

Socialists propose the ending of this contradiction. We believe that men should take their destinies into their own hands, and shape society to fit the needs of the people rather than those of profit. The necessary precondition for this is the social ownership and democratic control of the means of production and distribution. Industry should be the property of the people as a whole, its policies should be determined by those most directly affected by it, and production should be managed by the producers themselves.

The proposals in this platform are mixed. Some are welfare measures, aimed at making life in this society less destructive to the individual, and at eliminating some of the more glaring results of its contradictions. Others are aimed at attacking the

principles of capitalist organization in various sectors of the economy. They are structural reforms, steps toward a human organization of human society. In making these proposals we have been guided by the following criteria: (1) the need to democratize society, to increase men's control over their own lives, and to eliminate artificial divisions in the community; (2) the securing of the material stability necessary to allow the free development of society and of each individual; (3) the need to plan the allocation, development and conservation of our resources both for ourselves and for our children. We have therefore favored approaches which aimed at redistribution of income in a more equal way; attacked bureaucracy, hierarchy and parasitism; increased democracy; and aimed at building a world of peace and freedom. We have opposed approaches which would result in the domination of large numbers of men by bodies over which they have no control, or would give either future generations or the people of other nations the burden of supporting our prosperity.

We do not offer these proposals as a blueprint for a perfect society, nor in the hope of having them adopted piecemeal in the present society. We offer them rather as examples of what could be accomplished with our present resources and technology, serious attempts to deal with social problems within the limits of capitalist society.

If any of them were to be adopted in isolation, we assume it would be in the bureaucratic manner. We believe, however, that these proposals offer reasonable guidelines in the struggle for a better society.

## THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY

The American economy is the most advanced network of production in human history. For the last 35 years, however, it has been artificially sustained through one wholesale or sectional crisis after another. The role of the state has become the key factor in the economy. Permanent government intervention has become necessary in transportation, agriculture, and banking, and many other industries are supported by tariffs, temporary subsidy or government contracts, in addition to those covered by the various regulatory bodies. One-fifth of the national product is now consumed by government bodies, nearly half of that by the Department of Defense alone.

In spite of this massive intervention and support, the economy is still basically unstable and is characterized by persistent unemployment and widespread layers of poverty and deprivation. As more young people enter the labor market, and as automation extends further into the economy, these trends will be heightened. Many of the faults of the economy can be eliminated only by a basic change in its nature, but others are a consequence of the unwillingness of the American ruling class to accept structural reforms, such as have been carried through in many European countries.

## POVERTY

It should be obvious that the resources of our nation are sufficient to eliminate poverty, even within the confines of capitalism. The widespread and varied aspects of poverty, however, mean that it can be attacked only by basic overhauls of major sections of the economy. The problem of rural poverty cannot be solved without resolving the agricultural crisis. The problems of urban poverty cannot be met without eliminating unemployment and providing adequate housing and social welfare services.

Immediately, there must be an extension of minimum wage benefits to all workers, children's allowances, an expansion of the school hot lunch program, and increased social security and disability benefits. Unemployment benefits should continue as long as a person is unable to find work, but the elimination of unemployment and an expansion of social services are the solution to the problem of poverty. We are opposed to subsidy plans which would imply permanently condemning any section of our society to a life on the dole.

## EMPLOYMENT

Frictional unemployment, that of men simply "between jobs", could be greatly reduced by requiring all job openings to be listed with the Federal Employment Service, having a teletype service connecting all offices so that jobs in other areas could be listed, and providing ample relocation and retraining allowances for persons unable to find work in their area. Unemployment benefits should be raised to at least 2/3 of regular income, and long-term unemployed workers over 50 should be given the option of retiring on full Social security benefits.

This would not eliminate the basic problem of unemployment. The main means of fighting unemployment must be the extension of the benefits of labor-saving devices to each individual by reducing the amount of labor he must perform. We favor the 30 hour workweek, with no reduction in pay, retirement at 60, and paid vacations of at least 3 weeks for all workers. In addition, students should receive cost-of-living allowances while attending college or trade school.

## PLANNING

If the problems of our economy are to be eliminated there must be increased planning for the use of our resources. The only question is whether that planning will be democratic or bureaucratic. We suggest that the function of planners should be to formulate alternative plans for development and use of our industry, using computers to determine all probable consequences of each plan, and submit the plans to a full discussion by those affected by them, followed by amendments and a vote. Only if planning is fully democratized can it be consistent with the development of a rational and democratic society.

There must be an effective program of area redevelopment, with relocation subsidies for both men and industries, if the country is to grow without recurring problems of local and regional deprivation. To weaken the powerful interests who would oppose democratic planning, and to coordinate the key sectors of the economy, we favor the immediate socialization of banking, oil, steel, mining, and transportation.

## SOCIAL WELFARE

America needs an expanded program of social welfare services, to protect her citizens against economic mischance, insure a minimum standard of living for all, and maintain human dignity.

## MEDICAL CARE

In order to provide prescribed drugs for all citizens free of charge, coordinate research, and eliminate costly duplication of production, we favor the nationalization of the pharmaceutical industry. This would end the criminal recklessness with which new drugs are frequently released on the market and the wasteful competition in advertising which runs up drug costs. Research and production should be coordinated with University laboratories, and policy should be set by a council made up of representatives of pharmaceutical workers, pharmacists, the medical professions and universities.

## SOCIAL SECURITY

Social Security should not be, as it is today, merely a palliative measure designed to supplement the earnings of retired citizens. It must be extended to become a true national pension plan, designed to supply the full economic security necessary for a dignified and fruitful old age. Payments must be much higher than they are now, they must be pegged to the cost-of-living index, and they must be available to all persons of appropriate age regardless of their prior contributions in taxes. Additional benefits should be financed by increasing the employers' contributions and by allotments from general funds. The retirement age should be immediately lowered to 60; maternal and child services must be greatly expanded; family allowances must be made for children of low-income families. Orphan beneficiaries, for whom payments now lapse when they reach age 18, must have access to a special fund for college scholarships or for training for a trade.

## MENTAL ILLNESS

There must be expansion and strengthening of social services, and in particular of both hospitals and outpatient clinics to deal more adequately with mental illness and the ravages of community and family deterioration which result from the capitalist system. In particular, the problem of alcoholism and narcotics addiction should be dealt with through a system of outpatient clinics, and the present punitive approach to narcotics addiction should be entirely abandoned.

## PENAL REFORM

The majority of "crime" stems directly from the nature of the social system under which we live. The first object of crime prevention should therefore be the elimination of the social and environmental causes of "criminal behavior" as well as a revision of the archaic and antiquated notions of what constitutes an offense against the social order. Within the framework of present society, the function of corrective institutions should be to rehabilitate criminals and to fit them for a useful and honorable role in society. We favor the abolition of capital punishment, the institution of leaves of absences from prison and of extensive retraining and relocation of prisoners, a curtailment of excessively lengthy sentences and the abolition of all local and state laws requiring registration of ex-convicts. In addition, procedures for safeguarding the rights of accused persons must be strengthened, and no record should be kept of arrests which have not resulted in convictions.

## ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES

Social services are not charity but a right of all members of the community. The bureaucratic red tape and contempt for recipients which permeates many social welfare offices must be eliminated. There should be an emphasis on developing mutual aid societies among recipients with an aid to eventual transfer of distribution of benefits to representative organizations of those receiving them.

## LABOR

American trade unions are the strongest in the world, but in recent years they have been afflicted by an inability to come to grips with automation and other economic change, and a corresponding apathy on the part of members which has aided the process of bureaucratization. The increasing complexity of contracts, the shift of power from local to national unions, and the dispersal of workers to the suburbs have all contributed to stifling internal union life. Yet the working class remains the most important, and potentially the most powerful, group in any industrialized society. Only as workers have any permanent stake in social reform and only by organizing on the field of production do they acquire the necessary skills and self-confidence to intervene in the political life of the nation.

We favor immediate steps to strengthen the labor movement by organizing the unorganized, democratizing the structure of unions, and returning power to the local level, simplifying contracts and placing more power to deal with management in the hands of shop stewards and grievance committees who are most subject to rank-and-file control. There should be provisions for recall of all union officials, a reduction in salaries of officers to that of the highest-paid member of the union, and limitation on time in office. Committees chosen by all the workers on a job should be elected to coordinate action where there is more than one union. Steps should be taken toward amalgamation of unions with the end goal of complete industrial unionism.

The primary task of the labor movement must be to exert new control over s automation, the speed-up and the productive process in general. Workers should encroach on management's control of production by "self-pacing" themselves at work, and by demanding the elimination of the present foreman setup by introducing self-management in the shops. The dreary monotony of production must be relieved by rotation of work, more relief men and more frequent breaks. The fight for the 30 hour week and earlier retirement should be put at the center of all demands, and overtime should be banned by any union which has members out of work.

In the field of legislation, the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts should be repealed, especially the "hot cargo" section of the latter, which forces transport workers to handle scab goods. Wage and hour legislation should be extended to all workers without exception. Blacklisting and weeding-out of militant workers by "security" procedures should be outlawed.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

In the last 25 years, the American Negro people have been transformed from a predominately rural and Southern layer of our population to an urban working-class

group concentrated in the great cities of both the North and the South. The relatively powerless and isolated sharecropper has become a city-dweller, and this has produced a conscious and powerful movement for equal rights which is the most dynamic force in America today, even though it has as yet involved only a minority of the Negro people.

Their status as a minority, and the impossibility of achieving their demands through legislative action, has caused Negroes to take up the powerful weapon of direct action. The sit-in, the boycott, and the picket line have been used to compel business firms and local governments to yield to their demands. Negroes have rightly resisted the demand that they should submit their rights to referenda.

Direct action by a minority, however, has its limits. Negroes can eliminate some of the worst aspects of racial discrimination by direct action, but no amount of picketing and sit-ins can produce jobs where there are none. It is as workers as well as members of minorities that Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans must fight, for most of their needs are social needs--housing, jobs, schools, medical care. Minority groups, while not ceasing their struggle against discrimination, must form an alliance with the white working class to compel the ending of unemployment and the provision of adequate housing and social services. Only such a movement can make the necessary social alterations to end poverty, ignorance and discrimination.

In their struggle for their rights, Negroes are opposed by both major political parties. The mytlm that civil rights and other social gains are held back only by the "Republican-Dixiecrat" bloc must be exposed. The big city Democratic machines and the suburban liberals are as much the enemies of minorities as the Republicans, although they give more lip service to civil rights (especially to measures affecting only the South). Similarly, many southern Democrats have just as good (or bad) a voting record on issues other than civil rights as most Northerners. Southern power in the Houses of Congress depends on northern consent. It is not the "Republican-Dixiecrat Alliance," but the whole system of politics in America which is rotten. As a bare minimum, Negroes should refuse to vote for any congressional candidate who is not pledged to vote against Congressional seniority rules, and should demand enforcement of the section of the XIV Amendment which would strip Southern states of representation in the House for voter-discrimination.

On the social field, Negroes and their allies must fight for better housing and schools, oppose the present urban renewal policies with civil disobedience if necessary, and demand dispersal of public housing projects to prevent ghettoization. There should be widening of apprenticeship programs, with minority groups as the major recipients, and FEPC legislation with teeth.

In these struggles, there must be an unremitting effort to combat racial prejudice among white workers, who are essential allies in the Negro struggle. The emphasis in demands should be on equal rights and economic demands, rather than on extensive demands for "preferential treatment" which are raised by middle-class Negro groups. We say this even though we realize that Negroes have every right to preferential treatment on the basis of the nation's history of exploiting and oppressing them.

Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans are faced with many of the same problems as Negroes, and many face a language barrier as well. Their fight, like that of the

...es, is linked with the fate of the working class as a whole. Cultural bars must ... removed and Spanish recognized as a legal language in states where it is spoken by ... sizeable minority, such as New York and Texas. There should be massive economic ... to Puerto Rico and Mexico, and U.S. control over Puerto Rico should be removed.

American Indians as well are entitled to compensation for the murder and theft ...petrated upon them by our ancestors. Full citizenship rights must be combined with ...omy of Indian areas, and there should be no forced assimilation. There must be ...sive economic aid to Indians on the reservations as well as benefits for those ...ergoing the difficult process of adjusting to the main society. We support the ...rts of the Pan-Indian Movement to replace the white man's legacy of poverty and ...ness with one of pride and self-reliance, and fully endorse its demands for an end ... treaty violations. There must be an end as well to persecution of the Native ...erican Church and other Indian religious groups.

## AGRICULTURE

In the post war period, mechanization and large scale farming have vastly changed ... nature of our agricultural system. Half of U.S. farm land is now held in units of ...,000 acres or more, owned by less than 4% of farmers. Low agricultural wages, the ...ture of the government price support program, and scarcity of credit have combined to ...sh small farmers to the wall. The decline of cotton and the introduction of large-...le beef ranching in the South has resulted in the eviction of many tenant farmers, ... has mechanization. From 1940 to 1960, agricultural production was raised by 50%, ...d the farm population fell by 1/3.

Socialists recognize occupancy and use as the only valid claim to farm land. We ...vor socialization of corporate farms and these with absentee owners, and their ...nversion into cooperative farms or distribution to farmers whose land is insufficient ...r economic farming. Tenant farming should be abolished. There should be a strength-...ing of the family farm through cooperative credit, purchasing and marketing facilities, ...th the federal government giving financial aid.

The present system of farm price payments, which drives up consumer prices and ...torts the agricultural market, should be abolished. In its place there should be an ...come-support program based on aggregate prices of commodities in a free market, and ...ed at raising the income and living standards of farm families to those of urban ...kers. The packing and grain storage industries should be socialized.

The problem of farm capital allocation is that credit is allowed by banks on the ...sis of collateral rather than marginal productivity of capital. This has resulted in ... under-capitalization of most small farms, particularly in the South. Loans from ...e Farmers Home Administration and Production Credit Associations are based upon a ...ng-term flexible payment schedule, but their capital is inadequate for the job. In ...dition, PCA's also allot credit on a collateral basis and tend to become conservative ... their lending policies. FHA funds must be at least doubled, and FHA should under-...rite PCA loans and provide PCA with its use-supervision facilities. There must be an ...tension of farm credit unions and the REA, and the government should underwrite ...itial capital for cooperatives.

There must be overall farm policies aimed at increasing production of meat, fruit,

vegetables and industrial crops. Wheat, potato, and cotton production should be reduced. There should be a soil bank program stressing the purchase of land and its permanent retirement from production, and purchase of entire farms rather than small sections. The emphasis should be on soil conservation, reforestation, and the development of pasturage.

Farm laborers' wages (which at present undercut the living standards of both urban workers and working farmers) must be raised, and a planned program for reducing the number of full-time migratory harvest workers must be inaugurated, combined with retraining and relocation programs for farm laborers.

Industry must be decentralized to facilitate the provision of adequate social services to farm families, and to help break down the present division between town and countryside.

## CONSERVATION

Most Americans live in cities, far from the points of primary production--mines, forests, farms, fisheries. They are therefore unaware that the natural resources on which our "affluent society" depends are running out. Our children and their children may live in a very different world, one where there is little or no steel, coal or oil. As iron ore and other metals run out, we will have to turn increasingly to wood and plastics. But the forests are also being rapidly depleted, as are the very soils in which we grow our food and even the fish in the sea. With long-term conservation and development policies, we can leave future generations a beautiful heritage. Without such policies, we will leave them problems which will make these of today seem child's play.

## THE SOIL

The overwhelming majority of our farmland has suffered from serious soil erosion, and a large amount has been so damaged as to be close to useless. Depletion of soil fertility, though it has been partially arrested, is still a serious problem. At the rate depletion of vital mineral elements was proceeding when the soil conservation program was started 30 years ago, the nitrogen and potassium would be completely exhausted in about 400 years (earlier in some areas, and of course agricultural usefulness would cease long before total depletion). This process has been slowed, but not reversed, primarily because of the lack of regulatory powers by Soil Conservation Districts and the fact that many areas are not covered by SCD's. We favor strong soil conservation laws, increased funds for the Agricultural Conservation Program and the Soil Conservation Service, grants-in-aid to farmers for conservation practices to be paid annually on a scale sliding with good and bad crop years, and extensive retirement of land for reforestation and conversion to pasturage.

## FORESTS AND RANGELAND

There are 624 million acres of forest in the U.S. of which about 461 have commercial value. 25% of this forest acreage is owned by the government, and the rest by over 4,000,000 private owners. To further complicate things, 75% of the private forest is in small holdings averaging 62 acres each. The rest is primarily owned by

large lumber and mining companies. There is no effective regulation of private timber-lands.

Trees as a crop are a long-term investment. It takes from 40 to 150 years for a tree to grow to commerical lumber size. Scientific forest management is thus a project which must embrace several generations of men. Few private individuals are capable of this sort of planning; only a public agency can accomplish it.

We advocate a National Forest Plan under the supervision of the U.S. Forest Service and the Department of Agriculture. This would begin with socialization of large timber holdings and of lumber and pulp mills, thus bringing nearly half of present timber land as well as all timber processing under the control of regional Timber Corporations to be controlled by forestry men and workers in the woods and mills. The USFS would be given extensive regulatory power over the remaining private woods, and small-holdings adjacent to large public ones would also be socialized. Since an increase in growth of 60-70% is required to keep pace with present lumber use, an extensive program of replanting, reforestation and scientific cutting could be initiated on both private and public land.

The use of public grazing land could be stabilized in conjunction with the Forestry Plan by extension of cooperative grazing associations, such as those in Montana, and giving them consultative status on Regional Forestry Boards.

## MINES

All mines should be socialized and placed under the management of those who work in them. An extensive national geological survey should be undertaken to catalogue our national resources and facilitate the drawing up of plans for extension or re-traction of mining operations. Federal relocation subsidies and encouragement of new industry should be planned for areas where operations like unproductive coal mines are to be phased out of existence.

## WILDLIFE AND RECREATION

Existing wildlife and primitive areas must be preserved as they are, and new recreational areas must be developed for the future.

## HOUSING

Private industry has displayed its inability to provide adequate housing for the American people. Existing federal plans are incorrectly oriented toward single-family dwellings, which are extremely uneconomical. Multiple dwellings with large units and more surrounding space are needed. Destruction of existing housing, even "slum" housing, should cease until adequate provision is made for good low cost housing.

We advocate an increase in public housing, with an orientation toward permanent residence rather than temporary use. We demand an end to the present bureaucratic administration of public housing projects and the transfer of management powers to elected committees of tenants. Competent architects should be hired to ensure that future public housing does not have the appearance and atmosphere of a barrack.

As long as private rental is permitted to exist, we favor a rent ceiling of 7% of owner's equity plus a cost allowance based on the average maintainance and heating costs of comparable buildings. We believe that the federal government should require this ceiling of all new buildings in any way subsidized with federal funds, and favor a moratorium on all evictions except by petition of fellow tenents.

We favor the establishment of a Cooperative Housing Bank to be financed by the Federal Government and controlled by Cooperative Housing Societies, grants-in-aid to homeowners for repairs and construction, and special programs for housing the aged, students and others with special problems or needs.

We oppose proposals for rent subsidies on the grounds that they are in reality subsidies to landlords rather than tenants, that they would involve vast amounts of bureaucratic red tape, that they might well be used to relocate people in slums as present welfare policies do, and that they are primarily designed to disarm resistance to urban renewal programs and avert demands for low-rent housing until the destruction of present low-rent housing is complete, at which point they can be discontinued at the pleasure of the government and the landlords.

## FOREIGN POLICY

The world today is characterized by the division between the advanced industrial countries of Europe, North America, and Japan, and the backward agricultural or semi-industrial areas of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The advanced countries are in a position to dictate prices of industrial and agricultural goods on the world market, and that market operates to constantly widen the gap between them.

Against this background there has been a constant struggle among the advanced nations for a favorable position in regards to trade and military alliances with the underdeveloped nations. The struggle is at present primarily between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., whose ruling classes seek to consolidate their present "atmospheres of influence" and extend them into the other's domain. The U.S. has been forced onto the defensive in this struggle by the skill of Soviet rulers in exploiting their recent revolutionary heritage and their command of a debased marxist terminology. Both sides have used force where propaganda or economic pressure have failed, but have increasingly turned to a policy of attempting to bribe the ruling classes of the underdeveloped nations with foreign aid. The reactionary character of this "aid" is open to any viewer. It is often tied to crippling repayment provisions and preferential trade agreements. In addition, the bulk of it is frequently in the form of military supplies, further distorting the already unbalanced economics of these lands by building up armed forces they can neither afford to support nor can utilize for any purpose other than the suppression of popular movements.

As socialists, we oppose the rule of American capitalism both at home and abroad. We call for a democratic foreign policy, based on a respect for the rights of foreign nations, and aimed at a peaceful, balanced and democratic development of the economies of the underdeveloped areas. We advocate massive economic aid without strings, administered through international agencies; an end to all military aid and an embargo on all foreign shipments of U.S. weapons other than small arms; and an end to interference in the internal affairs of other nations. We see these as steps toward the

elimination of national boundaries and the creation of a democratically integrated world economy and human culture.

Specifically, we call for--withdrawal of U.S. troops and military aid from Viet Nam and Laos; restoration of diplomatic and trade relations with China and Cuba; dissolution of NATO and SEATO; internationalization of the Panama Canal; recognition of all existing national boundaries; withdrawal of all overseas military bases; disarmament and unification of Germany; progressive elimination of all tariff barriers to foreign goods; the end of military government in the Pacific Islands Trust Territory; and the ceding of the Guantanamo Naval Base to Cuba.

NOTE: This draft is incomplete. Sections need to be added on disability, Education, Urban Problems, Civil Liberties, Finance and Taxation, Governmental and Local Reform, and possibly Transportation.

For many of these planks the 1960 Platform sections will suffice.

CIVIL RIGHTS PLATFORM
by Thomas Kahn, Amended by Platform Committee.

CARRIED.

The Socialist Party vigorously proclaims its dedication to e civil rights revolution. We salute the courageous men and women, cluding many in our own ranks, whose commitment to freedom has been ested on picket lines and in jail cells, in marches and demonstrations, d in the day-to-day tasks of the movement for complete racial equality.

That movement has scored dramatic victories, especially in the eld of public accommodations. However, since 1960 the goals of the vement have been broadened and deepened. Southern activists quickly rned that there were just so many lunch counters one could integrate thout changing the sheriff or state legislator. (Indeed the develop- nts in Mississippi since the Freedom Rides and Jackson sit-ins have rned that there can be little if any progress without some Negro litical representation.) In the fall of 1962 SNCC, SCLC, CORE and the CP embarked on a voter registration campaign throughout the South. rect action continued in Greenwood, Danville and Plaquimine demanding ther the right to vote, the integration of public accommodations or jobs. t in the spring of 1963 the conscience of America was stunned by ctures of dogs biting children, ministers being hosed, women being nned to the ground by policemen, and Birmingham reverberated through- t Northern Negro communities. Massive demonstrations took place in icago, Detroit and New York, not only in sympathy with the southern vement but raising demands for the North as well. President Kennedy stantly introduced civil rights legislation, and the movement em- rked on a new stage.

Birmingham introduced the package deal: for the first time groes of all classes demanded jobs, housing and an end to segregated cilities; for the first time the vote was used simultaneously with monstrations to oust reactionary forces. The now historic March on shington incorporated the demands of Birmingham in a fundamental sense. e March brought together Americans in all walks of life in an unforget- ble expression of mass support for the abolition of racial segregation, scrimination and economic exploitation. Representating the coalition Negroes, labor, liberals and church groups the March projected an during symbol: the welding of the most progressive forces in American ciety into an alliance for social reform. The March was followed, in ct, not by a lull, but by first a period of evaluation and planning d then local group by local group took to the street demanding public rks, better housing and most dramatically of all quality integrated hools. These demands and demonstrations pose new problems in the effort create a year-round alliance such as that which existed on the March Washington.

Socialists are devoted to building and strengthening that lliance. For we recognize that the struggle of the Negro for full social, litical, and economic freedom cannot succeed unless it wins allies on e basis of common interests, and unless those allies reflect the com- itment to action, struggle and sacrifice that have characterized the gro struggle. We also recognize, as did the March, that the demands r freedom and jobs are inextricable -- that civil rights and poverty e incompatible, that real freedom is not merely the absence of

restrictions but the presence of means.

In this central fact Socialists perceive new possibilities for deepening the mass base of the civil rights revolution and of attracting to its banner growing numbers of hitherto uncommitted whites. To pursue those possibilities, with militant determination, is the radical alternative to frustration and stalemate.

Events of recent times have demonstrated anew that the "Negro problem" is an extreme manifestation of the "American problem." In his struggle for equality, the Negro is more and more running up against imbalances and injustices that are structural to American institutions. The effort to secure jobs through direct action collides with the spreading blight of technological unemployment. Integration of housing and schools is thwarted by the mushrooming of racial slums and the deterioration of urban educational systems.

Thus, ten years after the Supreme Court decision destroying the legal basis of segregation, the Negro unemployment rate is up 250%. Disproportionately concentrated in unskilled and semiskilled jobs, Negroes have been disproportionately victimized by automation, which is destroying those jobs. In agriculture, too, mechanization has hit the Negro hardest. Leaving the farms of the South, the Negro comes to the cities, in search of blue-collar jobs at a time when those jobs are shrinking. Those who fail in the search join the growing ranks of the unemployed; those who succeed will be tomorrow's unemployed.

In the year 1964, two out of every three Negro families lives in poverty or deprivation. This is not an accident of our economy; it is an embedded social injustice, one which is aggravated, instead of relieved, by technological progress that should assure material abundance to all Americans. By eliminating lower industrial jobs, automation makes it impossible for the Negro to begin "at the bottom" and work his way up. When machines have high school diplomas, and the average educational attainment of the Negro population is 8.2 years, economic catastrophe looms.

To head off this catastrophe, to integrate the Negro fully into American economic life, requires more than "preferential treatment." It requires full employment at decent wages. Only under such conditions can those in the lowest occupational categories be engaged in the economy.

The job problem is profoundly related to housing and schools. The growth of ghettoes, resulting from the migration of Negroes to the central cities and exodus of whites to the suburbs, reflects an occupational as well as racial separation. The suburban-bound whites tend to be employed in the expanding white-collar industries. They leave behind the semiskilled, unskilled, and unemployed Negro and other minority workers, desperately in need of decent housing and a wide range of social service. Thus the demand for adequate, attractive public housing becomes no less a civil rights demand than the integration of public accommodations.

As the slums grow, the difficulties of achieving school integration mount. Civil rights organizations are unfairly made to bear the brunt of the "bussing" problem. As Socialists, we hasten to point out that the need for bussing arises not out of the irrationality of Negro leaders but out of the historic and continuing refusal of this society to tear down its slums and rebuild its cities on the basis of intelligent, humane, planning -- a refusal which grows daily more unconscionable in direct proportion to our expanding technological capacities.

As Socialists, too, we hasten to point out that it was only when the Negro community took to the streets that white urban America began to re-examine the quality of its schools. It was only when Negroes withheld rent and closed down construction sites, that the problem of low cost housing and full employment were confronted. Negroes have learned well the lessons of American history: it is only by staying in the streets, only by maintaining continuous pressure against all institutions that progress is made.

Again and again--in employment, housing, education, and other areas of life--the struggle to assure equality for the Negro unveils ramifying social and economic inequalities that distort American institutions, victimizing the poor of every color. Today, thanks overwhelmingly to the civil rights revolution, the poor are gaining visibility. But visibility is not enough. Grass roots mobilization is necessary, and that mobilization must be translated into political action.

A program for civil rights must be geared, first of all, to abolition of every vestige of segregation and discrimination. The Socialist Party therefore demands federal legislation:

# outlawing discrimination and segregation in all public accommodations.

# abolishing all literacy requirements in voting.

# establishing a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission with ironclad enforcement powers.

# enabling the Attorney-General to initiate legal suits when <u>any</u> civil rights are violated.

# terminating federal aid to states, communities, and institutions practicing discrimination.

# establishing a Federal Community Relations Service and giving permanent status to the Federal Civil Rights Commission.

# enforcing Section II of the Fourteenth Amendment -- i.e., reducing Congressional representation of states in proportion to their disfranchisement of qualified voters.

In demanding such legislation, we are demanding only the most elementary protection of human rights, rights which are beyond dispute in a democratic society.

But even the passage of this legislation will not substantially alter the daily existence of the mass of Negroes so long as poverty and unemployment stalk the Negro community, so long as mushrooming slums and deteriorating schools continue to wall them off from the affluent white society.

We therefore demand a $30 billion federal public works program geared to:

# clearance of all slums.

# rebuilding of urban centers around vast educational parks which feature maximum application of modern technology to the educational process and which are thoroughly integrated.

# rehousing of all slumdwellers in new middle and upper income public housing and cooperative housing at the subsidization of municipal, state and federal governments. Such a housing program, coordinated with the construction of modern educational complexes, would replace today's slums with new, racially integrated communities and place education at the center of our social life.

Such a public works program adequately planned and financed, would offer employment to the unskilled and semiskilled -- to the mass of Negroes. The number of such workers involved in public works could be increased at will through the proportionate reduction of their workweek, their increased leisure time to be used for society's benefit, in massive retraining programs. Thus a combined public works and retraining program could provide fairly immediate employment for the masses of unemployed Negroes and simultaneously lay the foundations for the upgrading of skills required by the changing structure of the labor force.

The inability of the private sector of the economy to generate jobs, especially for Negroes and other minority workers, has now become incontrovertibly clear. Expansion of the public sector on the basis of democratic central planning of the economy is a civil rights goal.

But that goal cannot be achieved by the civil rights movement alone. It requires allies. One essential ingredient of such an alliance must be the trade union movement. But just as the civil rights movement must recognize the importance of an alliance with the labor movement if it is to achieve its goals, so also the labor movement must become more sensitive to the importance of this alliance. Our increasingly automated society can threaten the very existence of the labor movement as a vital institution in our society unless it meets this challenge.

The civil rights and trade union movements have during the [illegible] period often relied upon each other for cooperation and support based [illegible] mutual self-interest. But this alliance may well be threatened [illegible]gether by the lukewarm support given to the demands of an increasingly [illegible] militant civil rights movement by many sections of the labor move[illegible], and by discriminatory practices existing within many unions. Under [illegible] circumstances the labor movement cannot expect to remain exempt [illegible] pressures by the civil rights movement, pressures directed at [illegible]aining government intervention to obtain rights denied by the union [illegible] well as direct-action by civil rights groups directed at both [illegible]loyers and unions.

Regardless of the difficulties which face the building of such [illegible]alliance between Negroes, labor liberals and religious groups, it is [illegible]ential to the creation of the political force which can break through [illegible] Congressional deadlock. The Dixiecrat-Republican stranglehold over [illegible]gress -- and over the nation must be irreparably broken. The seniority-[illegible]tem must be ended and Rule 22 ended to eliminate filibustering. [illegible]gressional reapportionment, presaging greater political representation [illegible] progressive urban forces, must be vigorously pressed. Everywhere the [illegible]llingness of the major party politicians to subordinate civil rights to [illegible]rtisan advantage must be challenged. The challenge must come from the [illegible]ro community and its white allies, welded into a mass political [illegible]vement.

The alternative is social stagnation and frustration of the [illegible]d that nourishes reactionary or futile movements, or violence.

The Socialist Party does not have a Dixiecrat wing; nor does [illegible] have a Goldwater wing. Our support of the civil rights revolution -- [illegible] enthusiastic participation in the building of the mass movement [illegible]ch alone can assure the revolution's victory -- is therefore [illegible]qualified.

We call all Americans to an equal commitment.

LABOR RESOLUTION - Charles Davis, Maryland

We reaffirm the right of all workers to organize into unions of their choice and their right to strike in order to gain their demands.

This is especially true of workers employed by governmental institutions. We must oppose those laws and customs in our country that deprive governmental workers of the traditional right of all workers to strike.

Without the right of governmental workers to strike, the call for a socialized society would be feared by a growing multitude of public employees as a way of creating a totalitarian society as well as depriving them of an improved standard of living and personal rights.

We support the right of employees of non-profit institutions such as trade unions to organize into unions of their choice. We commend those trade union leaders who have accepted this principle and have applied it in their own organizations. These leaders have set a decent example to private employers as well as governmental administrators.

Amendment: by Anne Draper. To include in such a section, "We favor repeal of Taft-Hartly and Landrum-Griffin Acts.

CONSERVATION - Charles Davis, Maryland

The Socialist Party denounces the depletion of our natural resources by private corporations and other profit mad promotors who are desecrating the beauty and natural resources of the nation.

In many areas of the nation there is a growing problem of air pollution, destruction of wild life, and depletion of natural resources, because of irresponsible use of fuel as well as pesticides and herbicides.

We urge strong action by government on all levels to preserve natural resources and to prevent further pollution of the atmosphere.

# MEDICAL CARE

Medical needs are so essential, and their costs are so capricious and unpredictable, that we should long since have provided for them socialistically in the same matter-of-fact way that we socialistically protect ourselves against crime and fire. And in this opinion, above all others, we Socialists are confident we speak for the great bulk of the American people, who throughout this century have consistently favored every medical reform that was offered. The absence of socialized medicine in this country is disgraceful evidence of the power of a moneyed minority to thwart democratic processes.

The permanent crisis in medical costs reflects basic changes in technology and the economy, and cannot be confronted in any basic sense by piecemeal legislation. Current reform proposals are too little and too late, and sometimes wrongheaded. Especially alarming is the effort to use tax funds to swell the coffers of private insurance companies.

Present proposals for Social Security health benefits are good as far as they go, but do not go far enough even within the framework of their own limitations. At very least they should include medical, surgical, dental, and psychiatric fees. Funeral expenses should be assisted. And we are distressed that hospitalization payments should be limited as to time: Those who need more than 90 days of hospital care are few and represent very little money in national terms, but the private tragedy is immense. For humanitarian reasons we support the current proposals as the best of a bad lot, and we welcome the precedent of paying for health costs through Social Security mechanisms; but we insist that at best it is only an inadequate stopgap.

What we need--what even less prosperous nations have long enjoyed--is insurance through tax funds for the best possible medical care for every man, woman, and child. We call upon Americans everywhere to work with us for this goal.

We urge a system of socialized medicine under which the citizen is free to choose the doctor and the type of care he desires. We would encourage, through tax incentives and other measures, cooperative and other plans under which physicians are hired on a salary basis to provide complete medical care; a total divorcement of payments from medical procedures is essential if we are to achieve in fact the ideal of preventive care which science has now made possible. Yet fee-for-service piecework medicine should be allowed to continue where the people in a given community want it. For administration of socialized medicine should be local, with the public participating democratically, and the Federal government should confine itself to providing funds and regulating standards.

We favor drastic government action in support of the costs of medical education. The ranks of the medical profession must no longer be restricted to those who are born into well-to-do families. We favor subsidy of the costs of training nurses and medical technologists. We favor a decent wage scale for hospital workers, and defend their right to form unions and to strike: It is scandalous that hospitals should subsidize themselves by sweating their employees. We support, and favor extension of, present government hospital-building programs; every community should possess a medical center with emergency-ward and nursing-home facilities.

Prescribed drugs must be available to all citizens without cost to them. An independent government corporation should enter and become a major competitive entity in the pharmaceutical industry. The original proposal of Senator Kefauver, to limit the extortionate profit of drug firms, should be revived and enacted. At the same time, drug companies should continue to receive financial incentives for genuine pharmaceutical research. The government should engage much more heavily in pharmaceutical research. Government controls over licensing and advertising of drugs must be stringently enforced, and current efforts to water down recent reforms in this area must be resisted. Appointees to controlling agencies, here as elsewhere, must no longer be chosen in terms of their acceptability to the industry they control.

# NORMAN THOMAS DRAFT FOR FOREIGN POLICY AS REVISED BY PLATFORM COMMITTEE

Socialism from its beginning has been truly international. It has been concerned for the peoples of the world. It has looked to the workers of the world not only to prevent war but to bring true peace, a peace of freedom, equality of right, and fraternity.

Democratic socialists do not support the policies of the American capitalist establishment or those of the totalitarian Communist bloc. We are not appeasers or neutralists but political opponents of both blocs. Year after year they have shown a willingness to use armed force to crush any revolt against their domination. In Hungary, in Tibet, in Cuba, in Guatemala and Panama, both the U.S. and Communist blocs have used imperialist tactics. Korea, Laos and Vietnam have been the battlegrounds of the two rival blocs and the people of these countries are the victims.

As opponents of our own establishment we do not accept political responsibility for its foreign policy or military commitments. Under both Democratic and Republican administrations a bi-partisan policy of military containment of Communism through military and political alliances, including alliances with reactionary and dictatorial regimes, makes clear the inability of the current establishment to offer a progressive alternative to the spread of Communism. Brazen interference by the U.S. in Brazil and the recent decision to adopt an even more favorable attitude towards open military dictatorships underline the inability of a capitalist America to ally itself with mass popular democratic movements and guarantee continued political victories for the Communist bloc.

Our role is to offer an alternative foreign policy which can rally democratic-minded, peace-oriented people to a struggle against our establishment without any illusions about the rival imperialist bloc.

In our recent platforms, we have insisted that the prerequisites for an enduring peace, increasingly a peace of freedom and fraternity, were these:

1- Disarmament down to a police level within nations and between nations.

2- The development of the UN or agencies set up by the UN to inspect and control disarmament and increasingly to provide law as the essential alternative to war.

3- No isolation, but disengagement from military commitments to police the world and to impose our American solutions by force of arms in the recurring crises which tend to poison the world's hope of peace.

4- A cooperative policy in the struggle against the poverty which modern science and technology can now conquer to a degree that never before was possible. This calls for economic aid and other forms of help to emerging nations with the largest possible use of the UN.

We supported this four-point program by insisting that it is an absolute necessity to end war as the final arbiter in the anarchic society of nations. To live we must find an alternative to the new kind of thermonuclear war which, according to President Kennedy, would destroy 300 million lives in its first hour.

We support all efforts by the peoples living under Communist dictatorship to free themselves. The detente in the Cold War, combined with the growing rift between Russia and China and increasing polycentrism in the Communist world open many new opportunities. Increasing opportunities now exist for the satellites to gain greater independence and for the people to struggle for greater freedom against their governments. In the Communist parties themselves dissident currents have appeared willing to ally themselves with the people against the regimes. The battle for democracy there cannot be won by the CIA or the Cold Warriors in Washington but by the people themselves fighting their totalitarian rulers. We remain un-

remitting in our hostility to the Communist regimes and to the Communist parties which seek to establish their own totalitarian rule. As supporters of the colonial revolutions we stress the danger of a dependence or alliance with the Communist bloc or the local Communist parties. Such alliances endanger the revolution and increase the already great danger of development towards single party authoritarian regimes.

Our prerequisites of peace must be rapidly achieved in a world in which the principal rivals, the USSR and the USA, are neither of them powerful enough by military threats or by the appeal to arms to control or contain each other. Today their respective alliances are in great disarray. Our American alliances are in confusion, the most important of them, NATO, most of all. De Gaulle has all but taken France out of NATO, and two members, Greece and Turkey, are quite literally at sword points over Cyprus. It is quite obvious that an American policy, founded on containment by firm alliances and the power to work unimaginable destruction, has failed to give us security against war.

In what follows, the primary criticism and the emphasis of the analysis is directed toward American foreign policy errors and alternate policies for this country. This is the case because we put forth these ideas, not as a complete accounting of the international situation, but as proposals for new departures within our own land. However, this approach should not be mistaken for the theory that the Cold War or any of the present crises are the sole responsibility of the Western bloc. The expansion of Communist totalitarianism into Eastern Europe and attempts on the part of the Kremlin to establish its hegemony in other parts of the world are a major source of the Cold War. Bearing these facts in mind, let's see how our prerequisites for peace are faring today:

I. Disarmament. There has been a relaxation of tension brought about by the partial test ban, the Russian refusal to continue aid to China in developing the atomic bomb, and the obvious desire, not only of the Russian people but of the Kremlin, to avoid nuclear war. In the U.S. there has begun to be encouraging discussion in high places concerning some of the myths of our foreign policy including the myth that there is justification for continuing the immense diversion of funds to the Cold War. It puts us increasingly under the power of the military-industrial complex against which President Eisenhower warned us and lessens our ability to wage successful war against poverty. The arms economy is demonstrably not the way to conquer poverty or even to provide the maximum employment.

Despite the breakdown of containment by piling up weapons of overkill, negotiations for general disarmament unnecessarily drag. The USA as well as the USSR has rejected, often without true discussion, various suggestions which might have made for progress. Among us Americans there is a false sense of security because of our uneasy detente with the USSR, backed by boasts of our immense military superiority which, however, the Pentagon insists must be increased at enormous cost. In a world so irrational, or passionate, with so many contentions between nations, we dare not trust ourselves to live under conditions where governments or their agents have such easy access to the weapons of total destruction.

Hence the immense need of pushing toward general disarmament. In this effort, the Socialist Party pledges itself to the following program:

(1) Opposition to further Federal appropriations for an unrealistic civilian defense which tends to produce in the American public a false sense of security and to justify in the minds of other nations the fear that we may be preparing for war.

(2) Opposition to a multinational fleet carrying thermonuclear bombs. Only West Germany of our allies truly wants the fleet in the belief it will ultimately give them access to bo

possibility vastly disturbing to neighboring states which remember the past.

) Support in the Geneva Conference for every sincere, intelligent approach to general disarmament either by regional agreements, affecting, let us say, Central Europe, or by parallel d phased reductions.

) A program of unilateral initiatives including
a) drastic cuts in military appropriations;
b) immediate cessation of testing and manufacturing of nuclear weapons;
c) repeal of present conscription laws.

. Strengthening the UN. Universal disarmament will neither be obtained, nor, if miraculously obtained, maintained except under inspection and control by a genuinely international thority. As the end of blood feuds within communities was brought about by progress of w, so must law be made an alternative to war among the nations. This requires a strengthning of the UN or of agencies set up by the UN with consent of its member nations. The UN eds its own police force, more adequate means of mediation and adjudication of disputes, d some limited powers of taxation. It is not enough to debate the UN in terms of for or ainst. Socialists pledge themselves to promote not only a heartier support of the prinples of the UN but constructive proposals for strengthening it.

. Disengagement from military commitments to police the world. These military commitnts have formed too large a part of our foreign policy. In the modern world no nation, t even our own, has the wisdom, or the power, to police the world by the diabolical means f war. This fundamental principle should guide our American policy in dealing with the many rises which threaten the world in both hemispheres. It is the business of the U.S. to work r peace and world development.

In the light of these principles, let us examine the most important of these crises ich now trouble this earth.

) China and Southeast Asia. American foreign policy by what it has done and left undone s in no small degree responsible for critical conditions in Southeast Asia. Our American olicy toward China is perhaps the greatest single factor. Washington has persisted in the regious folly of refusing to recognize the effective government of over one-fifth of the eople of the world. It has persisted in the ridiculous assertion that Chiang, ingloriously iven out of China 15 years ago, Chiang who has never dared hold a plebiscite to confirm s power in Taiwan, is still entitled to recognition as representative of China, one of the g Five, in the Security Council of the UN. He represents nothing but the Seventh American Fleet and the whole world knows it. It is fantastic to believe that we can have agreents on Southeast Asia, much less on general disarmament, without Chinese assent. The ocialist Party urgently demands immediate negotiation looking to the recognition of the ffective government of China by the U.S. and even more by the UN. Taiwan should be given epresentation in the Assembly of the UN, and its independence recognized. Meawhile, the .S. should permit some exchange of people to people between the U.S. and China through olition of travel restrictions. It should encourage trade, except that there should be n embargo on trade in weapons or the materials out of which weapons are made.

Vietnam is one of the most difficult issues facing American policy and, before making roposals, let us note some of the major determinants of the situation. The war of French olonialism against the Vietnamese people ended in political and military defeat and drove any people into the arms of Ho Chi Minh's Communist-led Viet Minh. With the Geneva settlent, the United States had the opportunity to demonstrate the democratic alternative to ommunist totalitarianism in that country. However, America supported the Diem regime, a

government which increasingly resembled, in its authoritarianism and unpopularity, the Bao Dai puppet state unsuccessfully supported by the French. When the mass resentment against Diem finally expressed itself, much of democracy's political capital had already been forfeited and the change itself took the form of a military coup d'etat. As a result of these events, the Communist Viet Cong grew in numbers and popular support.

The Chinese Communists, of course, shared responsibility for this entire situation by making the Vietnamese people a pawn in their strategy of establishing their hegemony over all of Southeast Asia. Tragically, the errors of Western policy facilitated this design.

At the present time, there is no easy solution to this crisis. Vietnam has become so polarized that a policy of neutralization would be most difficult to pursue. On the other hand, the United States is spending lives and money in a cruel and unpopular war which seems headed toward another Dienbienphu. Not only are American lives being lost, but tens of thousands of Vietnamese are being killed in this ghastly war. As the military situation worsens, more and more American voices will be raised urging that the war be carried to North Vietnam or China itself. Both of these policies contain a great potential for escalation into World War III, an outcome which would not "save" Southeast Asia or anything else but would lay waste to the globe.

Therefore, the Socialist Party demands that our government should use every effort by negotiation to bring about neutralization of Vietnam and to maintain a genuine neutralization of Laos and Cambodia, but under no circumstances to continue its investment of men and money in war in Southeast Asia.

2) The Middle East. Here the continuing threats of Arab nations to destroy Israel menace peace. The Socialist Party believes that the U.S. and the UN should use all possible influence to bring about not merely an end of threats but a positive peace on the following principles: (1) The goal of Arab unity or federation is in itself admirable but cannot be desirably achieved on the basis of hate of an Israel that is here to stay. (2) On the contrary, the best interests of the Middle East would be served by regional disarmament and economic cooperation of Arab states with Israel, especially in allotment of water under a comprehensive plan such as Eric Johnson once worked out. (3) Israel should establish and maintain equality of citizenship for Jews and Arabs in Israel and should make every effort to readmit Arab refugees who would accept the Israeli government, or otherwise fully to compensate refugees whose farms were confiscated.

3) Berlin and Central Europe. We believe that the American government should indeed to concerned for the unity of a disarmed Germany but should recognize the political fact that such an end can only be achieved within the framework of a Germany outside all military pacts. The Russians will not accept German unity within NATO, and so long as this possibility is open will continue to impose the Ulbricht regime on the East Germans; and the United States, clearly, would not support a German unity within the Warsaw Pact. Therefore the only realistic hope of achieving German self-determination would be within the context of German disarmament and a German pledge to remain out of the military alliances (a similar approach worked out successfully in the case of Austria).

We condemn the failure of our government under pressure from Paris and Bonn even to consider the various proposals of the Polish foreign minister looking toward a demilitarized area in Central Europe - an extension of the arrangement in Austria - and the withdrawal of Russian and American military from it.

We urge consideration of plans to guarantee access to West Berlin under supervision of the UN. An approach to some such guarantee would be aided by a formal recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as the boundary between Germany and Poland. Originally we Socialists criticized the postwar agreement that established this line, but, after the passage of 19 years and the extensive movements of peoples, it cannot be changed without war and should be recognized by the U.S.

Africa. Many of the problems of Africa are similar to those encountered in South America or Asia. But Africa also has unique problems, particularly in trying to establish viable economies and building nations out of the complexity of tribalism and the confusion created by the artificial borders set up by the colonial powers. Despite all these problems, Africa has shown its ability to produce outstanding leaders, and to move from colonialism to freedom with far less violence and confusion than might rightfully have been expected.

Socialists are discouaged over developments in Ghana and elsewhere, where the trend is toward absolute one-party rule with a denial of any effective freedom for political opponents. But in general the record is good.

The major problem of Africa is, of course, the violent racism and fascism of the Union of South Africa and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. We have for years warned that the Union of South Africa and the government of Portugal were making a nonviolent resolution of the problem increasingly difficult. Such a nonviolent resolution now seems impossible. Revolutionary military centers are now operating in various parts of Africa, training and equipping volunteers for military action within South Africa, Angola and Mozambique. Such violent activities are certain to increase with the passage of time. Since all means of change have been made illegal in these areas, we must declare our moral support for those revolutionary elements seeking, even by means of violence, to overthrow the government of South Africa and to drive the Portuguese from Angola and Mozambique. We plead with the nations of the world to hasten the liberation of these areas, thus minimizing the agony through which these areas will otherwise pass.

We call for a total worldwide boycott on trade with South Africa and Portugal. We demand an absolute embargo on the shipment of military supplies to these countries. While we cannot agree with these African states that seek the expulsion of Portugal and South Africa from the U.N., for we believe membership in the U.N. must be universal, we strongly urge the full moral weight of the U.N. be cast openly and relentlessly against the Union of South Africa and the government of Portugal.

Latin America including Cuba. U.S. policy in Latin America has consisted essentially of:

1. An inadequate program of economic aid.
2. Military aid that has often been utilized to preserve oligarchies and military regimes.
3. The attempted utilization of the Organization of American States to carry out American strategy in relation to Cuba and Russia.
4. The use of the CIA to subvert governments.

favor:

1. A great expansion of U.S. economic aid to democratic governments in Latin America that are carrying out fundamental economic and social reforms and that do not utilize aid programs to bolster ruling oligarchies.
2. An end to all military aid.
3. An end to all demands on the members of the Organization of American States for pressure against Cuba.

4. The return to Panama of sovereignty over the Canal Zone, and the internationalizat of the operation of the Panama Canal.

We are opposed to the totalitarian Castro regime. Our sympathies lie with the trade union and democratic opposition to the Castro regime. However, since the past relationship of the U.S. to Cuba was that of being its economic overlord, and the sponsor, directly and indirectly, of the infamous Batista regime, we favor a U.S. policy today that can be summed simply as: HANDS OFF CUBA.

This requires:

1. A negotiated normalization of trade and diplomatic relations, with
2. Restoration of the sugar quota,
3. Withdrawal from Guantanamo,
4. Cessation of violation of Cuban air space,
5. Non-intervention by the CIA in the activities of Cuban exiles.

We are opposed to the activities of the Castro regime in attempting to export totalitarianism to the rest of Latin America. But this is not a serious military threat, and can be met only politically by the positive achievement of democratic social revolution in Latin America.

IV. Worldwide War on Poverty, Illiteracy and Preventable Disease. The anti-colonial revolution is an accomplished fact; it can no longer be halted. Where colonialism or neo-colonialism still hangs on, democratic socialists oppose it without compromise. Where imperialist rule has been thrown off, however, new and serious problems arise, for colonial domination is too often replaced by indigenous dictatorships.

There are those who claim that democracy is incompatible with economic progress in the underdeveloped world. Conceding the possibility of democracy only under advanced industrialization, they portray it as an actual impediment in the modernization of non-industrial societies. Theirs is a familiar apology for tyranny.

Democratic socialists reject this defense of tyranny in the guise of economic efficiency. Recent developments reveal that democracy and industrial progress are not inimical. Without programs of massive aid, far more extensive than the Alliance for Progress, the have not nations cannot be brought into the modern world. And without corresponding achievements in the struggle for democracy, progress in the former colonial countries becomes a sham and a deception for their depressed peoples. Thus democratic socialists call for maximim effort in economic aid and for political support to democratic developments everywhere.

In underdeveloped areas socialist and democratic parties must place themselves in the forefront of genuine social revolutions aimed at carrying out effective land reform, modernization and industrialization in a democratic and revolutionary framework. Such a policy means unremitting struggle to expand the popular institutions of the people, the trade union political parties, peasant and student organizations which alone can form a healthy base for development. We remain convinced that all tendencies which increase the participation of the people themselves in running their state and institutions will strengthen a real social revolution. Such democratic revolutionary regimes offer the only road to development other than the authoritarian path chosen by all too many in despair or the totalitarian road imposed on others.

The marvels of science make possible a worldwide conquest of poverty as the hungry millions in nations caught in the revolution of rising expectations are increasingly aware.

ey cannot eat and drink independence, and independence does not automatically give them scape from hunger and desperate want. It is madness to think that peace can be secure if he existing inequalities of standards of living are to be frozen in perpetuity. Nevertheless, despite some genuine generosity of aid by the U.S. and other more economically developed countries, the economic gap between the advanced and the emerging nations tends to iden. The economic law is: "Them as has, gits."

Hence the importance of economic aid and friendly help to our neighbors in a world here we are all of necessity neighbors. The U.S. has done some good things - one thinks of he Marshall Plan and the Peace Corps - but our American programs have sagged both in quality and quantity of aid provided. Indeed there have been at the same time other policies of he U.S. government - especially in terms of the failure of the stabilization of raw material ommodity prices--that have had a detrimental effect on the "have-not" world. Certain fundamental principles have been too much neglected.

1. The primary enemy is poverty. We Americans are not buying friends in a competitive arket but helping peoples to conquer poverty, illiteracy and preventable disease. Then riendship will take care of itself.

2. We Americans do however have a right and duty to see to it that our aid be honestly nd competently administered. Those governments that show some respect for freedom as well s honesty do have an especial claim.

3. Military aid is no proper part of a cooperative war on poverty. It should be excluded. Washington's policies have too often served only to strengthen for a time military ictators who somehow are regarded as champions of the free nations so long as they are not ommunists. Too often Americans have degraded the noble word, free, by making it a mere ynonym for non-Communist.

4. Aid ideally can best be administered through agencies of the UN to which all belong. his avoids the young man and rich uncle sort of relationship between nations. Hence, the N should be used when possible.

5. The great purpose of aid is not to alleviate immediate hunger, important as that is, but to put new peoples on their feet in our modern economy. Therefore, we must keep always before us the necessity of creating a sound basis for universal prosperity. This requires a socialist approach. Nineteenth-century America is no pattern for poor overcrowded nations in today's world. There must be social planning and investment for the common good.

That type of planning must (a) be concerned for the conservation of natural resources; (b) be urgently concerned to check the explosion of populations. These facts should be continuously in the mind of our American fighters against poverty. The Socialist Party demands international agreements on the use and protection of natural resources. It demands agreement by all nations permitting and encouraging information on birth control and making available facilities for it. No marvels of science can save us from the ruin of exhaustion of natural resources and the heedless multiplication of human beings.

Almost as important as conservation of natural resources and birth control is the problem of trade among sovereign nations of widely differing economic strength. The general movement among the developed countries should be toward freer trade, but arrangements should be made to guarantee at least for a considerable period an adequate base price for commodities from developing nations primarily dependent upon exports of raw materials such as tin, copper, cocoa, or coffee.

For six years the European Economic Community has provided its member populations with an increasing standard of living through planned industrial productivity and with substantial rates of economic growth. Because of this, all social democratic parties and labor unions in the Common Market continue to support the EEC although a politically integrated Europe has

not yet been attained. Through their Liason Bureau, these parties have recently presented a program whereby:

a. The member states delegate a part of their sovereign rights to European institutions subject to effective control by democratic partliamentary representation,

b. Membership in the EEC will be open to all democratic countries in Europe accepting the aims and obligations of the European Treaties, and

c. Protectionist policies will be replaced by a consciousness of EEC's responsibility as the largest trading bloc in the world, especially in relation to underdeveloped areas.

This program is designed to create the conditions for the Socialist United States of Western Europe. If achieved, this means the realization of one of the most profound goals of democratic socialism. It would change Europe from a chopping block to a base for world socialism and the alternative to both liberal capitalism and Communist totalitarianism.

The Socialist Party is aware that in offering this platform, it is not proposing easy solutions to fundamental problems. It believes that it is showing the road which men and nations must travel, to escape literal destruction in the thermo-nuclear age and to find instead the peace, freedom and fraternity of which so many of our ancestors have dared to dream. We offer our proposals and demands in the faith that what men must do to live they will learn to do in time.

DRAFT PLATFORM STATEMENT ON FOREIGN POLICY

BY EPHRAIM FRIEND Defeated

The world, today, faces four crucial problems:

1. the prevention of nuclear war
2. the containment and countering of the expansion of totalitarian collectivism in all its varieties, Russian, Chinese, Cuban, North Vietnamese, etc.
3. the achievement of full independence and democratic freedom for colonial peoples, which can be accomplished only by the building of a democratic socialist society. (Item 4 - see below)

The first goal of preserving and insuring peace depends on the achievement of these other goals.

The road to peace does not lie in acts of renunciation and piecemeal capitulation to the totalitarian powers. The precarious situation in the world cannot be normalized by policies of concession to the so-called security fears of the expansionist totalitarian states. These would only open the door to new opportunities for crisis blackmail and nuclear diplomacy. A series of secondary triumphs for China or Russia would lead to an imperialist continental hegemony and, ultimately, to a devastating war provoked by panic and desperation.

The acceptance or underwriting of the imperialist status quo or the division of the world into Big Power spheres of interest are not pathways to peace or even to a stable detente.

It is illusory to expect that recognition of Communist China or the border arrangements of the Russian empire will reduce the power drives of these totalitarian states.

While the arms race between the major blocs aggravates existing rivalries it is not their main source. The conflict between the different social systems and imperialist blocs is not the product of poor diplomacy, ideological fanaticism or psychological aberration. It is important to recognize that, at this stage, the maintenance of totalitarian class rule and exploitation provides the dynamic force for aggression and expansion.

The conflict differs from previous modern imperialist contests. It now involves powers with antagonistic social and political systems, whose primary goals are not the relatively secondary ones of financial gain or economic exploitation of a given territory. Both are systems of exploitation that must, and will be eliminated, in order to establish a society of equality and full freedom.

The social consequences of a victory for, or extension of, totalitarian collective systems are, however, of such immediate life and death importance that socialists and liberals cannot adopt a policy of indifference or abstention from the struggle against the totalitarian powers. The destruction of the free labor movement, the physical liquidation of socialist and other radicals, the brutal suppression of democratic rights, are the inevitable consequences of any extension of totalitarian collectivism.

There can be no peace with capitalism but every diplomatic and military move must be specifically weighed to see whether it weakens or strengthens totalitarian rule. Any policy, no matter how radical sounding, which augments the power or extends the area of rule of the totalitarian powers must be fought as reactionary and anti-democratic, in effect.

We reject the idea that we should look on totalitarian collectivist victories with

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4. the extension of full social and industrial equality and democracy to all peoples, which can be accomplished only by the building of a democratic socialist society.

equanimity because a certain degree of liberalization has taken place or may take place in the future. It is not enough to say one is opposed to or one denounces the evils of totalitarianism. Socialists and radicals, who are true to their cause, and not to radical phrases, must help educate the American working class to the need for a democratic foreign policy which cannot be carried out without some bases in military power.

It is important to be guided by the awareness that totalitarian collectivism (Communism) derives enormous political, and hence military, strength by being able to present itself as the ally of oppressed peoples and exploited classes. It is just as important, however, to recognize that Russian and Chinese military and political power depends in no small measure on their enormous military machines and industrial capacity. Any military success they achieve, no matter how reactionary politically, enhances their political power in the short run, with disastrous physical consequences to the subjugated people.

Political and military forms of resistance cannot be separated. We fail in our responsibility if we were to say that military resistance to totalitarian collectivism is the province of the government and not the concern of socialists who are against capitalism.

Nothing in the support of specific policies like the arming of India, the keeping of troops in West Berlin or the taking of proper, military backed, democratic steps in Laos and South Viet Nam requires the political support of capitalism or any loss in the political independence of labor and socialist movements.

It must be frankly admitted that socialists and progressives who try to fashion a policy which takes into account both the political and military aspects of the struggle against Communist Tyranny face the danger that one or the other set of considerations may be submerged by the other. We, however, have faith in the ability of socialists and other fighters for freedom to maintain a proper balance.

The Socialist Party urges the American people to adopt an aggressively democratic foreign policy - the prime means of changing the political and ultimately the military balance of power.

The enlargement of areas of political and social democracy abroad requires the full extension of democracy at home.

The pressure and sustaining drive for an aggressively democratic and revolutionary foreign policy can be provided only by the political and social forces working to eliminate all political, social, and economic inequality in the U.S.A.

An effective struggle against totalitarian tyranny is deeply dependent on the achievement of industrial and social democracy, at home. To relax either one is to weaken the other.

## ...nization and Finance Committee Report - Accepted

The political and organizational opportunities for our Party are objectively better ...y than for many years. But whether or not the Party takes advantage of these opportunities depends partially upon our ability to meet the necessary organizational and financial obligations and requirements. We are certain that these challenges can be met if our members have the commitment to support and build the Socialist Party. The following is a short summation of just a few of the most important tasks ahead.

### ...nizational Activities

It is essential that our members have more contact with the National Office and with ...ch other in order to adequately discuss and exchange experiences and coordinate our day ... day political and organizational activities.

1. We move that Hammer & Tongs be expanded into a discussion and organizational ...lletin which will be published on a quarterly basis and distributed free to all members. Hammer & Tongs should not be limited to discussion articles but should include ...orts from locals, individual members and the national office about political activity ... the many areas of socialist work in which our members are engaged.

2. We recommend that, wherever and whenever feasible, local and regional conferences ... organized for the purpose of intensive education and discussion by our membership and ...iends concerning major areas of concern to the Party, i.e., civil rights, peace, and ...ade union activities. We further recommend that the national office and/or leading ...rades participate in these conferences.

3. To regions in which there are no organized locals, but in which members-at-large ...ve a perspective and a desire for activity and contact with each other, we recommend ...at they set up an informal state or regional Conference and elect a Chairman and a Secretary to keep in touch with each other and the national office. We further recommend ...at all members-at-large attempt to set up such informal organizations until such time ... locals are developed in their areas.

### ... Socialist War on Poverty

The first place to declare a War Against Poverty is in our national office, and we ...y this because we must here and now commit ourselves to considering as top priority ... all organizational needs the regular payment of national staff salaries, rent and u...ilities. Not only do we fail to pay adequate salaries, but we have been unable for ...ny years to pay even these salaries regularly. If we want to carry out the program ...d activities that we are recommending at this convention, the membership must take full ...esponsibility for raising the funds that are required. We are convinced that, if every ...mber does his share, the funds required are definitely within our reach.

1. If every member regularly paid his agreed-upon dues, regardless of the amount ... the dues, the National Office would receive an additional $4,000 a year. This should ... unnecessary to point out to members of the Socialist Party, but unfortunately it is a ...eality. Primarily the responsibility for collecting full dues regularly lies with the ...ocals and their officers. We urge, therefore, that responsible Party members assume the ...ecessary task of collecting these dues.

2. Pledge Plan. It is an appalling fact that the Party Pledge Plan, which is one of ...he most effective ways to ensure a regular income for the National Office, has the support ... less than 3% of the members. Yet with this very minimal support the Pledge Plan brings ...n currently $6,000 a year. It is clear that if every member pledges an average of just ...1.00 per month, the financial problems of the organization would be considerably alleviated. ...t is essential that every comrade financially able to do so make the maximum monthly pledge ...o the National Organization. It is further recommended that every local without exception ...hoose one comrade who will take responsibility for the regular collection of monthly pledges ...n his area.

We recommend that the National Committee appoint a National Finance Director, who will be responsible throughout the year for planning ways and methods of raising additional funds and who will also supervise the fund drive.

This financial program for our Socialist War Against Poverty must be carried out in order to insure the operation of the National Office to the fullest extent necessary and to implement our organizational plans and political programs.

Submitted by the Organization and Finance Committee
Socialist Party Convention, 1964

Secretary's Report - Convention, 1964

Since our last convention three events have gladdened the hearts and affected the activity of the members of the Socialist Party: the Civil Rights struggle became a national struggle, poverty in the United States became a political issue receiving wide publicity, and Russia and the United States negotiated a nuclear test ban treaty which most of the countries of the world also signed.

The Civil Rights struggle first began to develop into a national struggle in April, 1963, when nationwwide demonstrations in support of the Birmingham marchers were organized. Socialist Party members are proud of the role they played in organizing these first nation wide demonstrations, since we were responsible or helped to organize about twenty of the forty demonstrations that took place throughout the country upon forty-eight hours notice. Within two months civil rights demonstrations broke out in most of the northern cities and many southern cities and towns, and the call for the March on Washington went out. About one-third of our entire membership was personally active in helping to organize the March, either in local areas or in the national office. Many others joined the marchers. Our usual biennial conference was changed to Washington, D.C., taking place immediately after the March, and the subject was, of course, Civil Rights. Such speakers as A. Philip Randolph, James Farmer, Norman Thomas, Bayard Rustin, Max Shachtman, Congressman Wm. Fitts Ryan, Norman Hill, Ike Reynolds of CORE, and Ernest Calloway and Willoughby Abner of the Negro-American Labor Council, and Cleveland Robinson of District 65, RWDSU, led the discussion, in which approximately 160 SP and YPSL members participated with 130 civil rights activists from all over the country. Since that time members throughout the country have continued to play an active role in local civil rights activities, helping to organize marches, school boycotts, rent strikes, and voter registration projects. Support of the Civil Rights movement is undoubtedly the principal activity of Socialist Party members and will continue to be so in the future.

Four years ago, our comrade, Michael Harrington, wrote a book entitled The Other America. In January, 1963, the New Yorker devoted forty pages to a favorable review of this book, along with two others which it discussed less favorably. We are told that President Kennedy saw this article and asked for a copy of Mike's book. Early this year President Johnson, following the guidelines established by President Kennedy in late 1963, announced a "war on poverty." All of a sudden people who were convinced that this was an "affluent society" discovered underprivileged in our midst, and Harrington returned from a year in France to find himself very much in demand as lecturer. In order to present our ideas on how to fight poverty, a fight that we have been carrying on for sixty years, the Socialist Party held another national conference--this time on Poverty and Unemployment. Taking part in this conference were Michael Harrington, Norman Thomas, Aaron Levenstein, Fay Dennett, Seymour Melman, Bayard Rustin, Tom Kahn, Ralph Helstein of the United Packinghouse Workers, and Everett Kassalow of the Industrial Union Department. One hundred members or close friends of the Socialist Party from throughout the eastern United States joined with two hundred fifty non-socialists to present and discuss our ideas. Many articles in our newspaper, New America, have presented and will continue to present our ideas on this subject.

The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, coming as it did so shortly after Russia and the United States stood for a number of days at the edge of a nuclear war, was welcomed

by Socialist Party members as a first step toward the disarmament under the auspices of the UN which we have advocated, and Norman Thomas, whose efforts in behalf of peace have been noted for many years, presented testimony for us before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee.

1964 finds us celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Socialist International, with ceremonies centering around Brussels in September. The Socialist Party sent four delegates to the biennial Congress of the Socialist International in Amsterdam, in 1963. They introduced for us resolutions on civil rights in the United States and on anti-Semitism in the USSR, resolutions which were accepted by the Congress. The national office also played host for several days to the delegation sent by the Socialist International to Latin America in April-May, 1963, with Norman Thomas and Robert Alexander being particularly helpful and knowledgeable on the situation in the Latin American countries. At the present moment, brother parties of the Socialist International form the governments in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and help form the governments of Austria and Italy. The British Labor Party, also a brother party, has every expectation of winning the elections which will take place in Great Britain this fall.

On May 9, the Eugene V. Debs Foundation dedicated the home of Eugene V. Debs as a museum and labor research center in Terre Haute, Ind. Norman Thomas, who spoke at the dedication ceremonies, reports that the Foundation enjoys wide local support, as well as the support of many labor unions and Socialists.

Another major event arranged by the Socialist Party was the tour in late 1962 throughout the United States and Canada of Dr. D. Stark Murray, president of the Socialist Medical Association of England, whose fifty lectures and twenty TV and radio appearances were estimated to have presented over 40,000,000 people with the advantages of Socialized medicine.

Norman Thomas led a campaign for amnesty for Junius Scales, the only Smith Act prisoner in the United States, a campaign which reached a successful conclusion when President Kennedy signed the pardon on Christmas, 1962. The Socialist Party also conducted a relief campaign for the benefit of the unemployed Kentucky miners, cooperated in the campaigns of the Committee on Africa and the Committee for a Free Spain, and joined with liberal and other radical organizations in protesting injustice in such places as the Dominican Republic and Vietnam. One of our members was one of the hostages held by the Bolivian miners early in 1964, and the national office sent cablegrams to many Socialists throughout the world urging their support and intervention to free the hostages. The secretary of the Socialist International received word from President Paz Estensoro of Bolivia that the telegrams received from well known Socialists had a great influence in finally effecting their release.

Among the major resolutions passed by the National Committee and the National Action Committee in the past two years were those on shelters, on the Cuban crisis, on the relations between the labor and civil rights movements, on peace, on India-China conflict , on Southern Africa, for foreign aid, against nuclear weapons, against military dictatorships, the Alliance for Progress, Cuba of 1963, and Vietnam. We presented testimony in Washington to end the importation of Braceros, in support of the

Test Ban Treaty, and in support of the King-Anderson Medicare Bill. Norman Thomas presented testimony in behalf of the Socialist Party before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives and before the Senate Committee on Commerce in behalf of the Civil Rights Bill. This testimony was reprinted by New America in a special issue in July, 1963, an issue which had a circulation of approximately 20,000.

Three new locals have been chartered since the last convention: New Orleans, Toledo, and Columbia, Mo., the last local being chartered only three days ago. Throughout the country generally our most active locals are primarily in the larger cities, Chicago, New York City, East Bay Area, and to these must also be added our local in Boulder, Colorado. These locals have been extremely involved in community activities, primarily in civil rights, have conducted a great number of public meetings and educationals, and have, in the case of Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles, run extremely successful Debs Day Dinners, with A. Philip Randolph being honored in New York City, with speakers James Wechsler, Jim Carey, Richard Parrish, and Norman Thomas paying tribute to him, James Farmer and Bayard Rustin as speakers in Chicago, and Norman Thomas as the feature speaker in Los Angeles. New York City also ran a Socialist Party candidate for the position of councilman at large, the candidate being Richard Parrish. A large number of our members in New York City, Chicago, and the San Francisco area have been arrested because of their civil rights activities. Other locals active in running monthly forums and their local civil rights campaigns include Tucson, Nassau, Boston, Philadelphia, Reading, Cleveland, Detroit, and Wisconsin. The national office has received little information as to recent activity in locals New Orleans, Seattle, Suffolk, Northern New Jersey, Central New Jersey, Camden, Washington, Pittsburgh, Toledo, and Ann Arbor, although we know that these locals are meeting and shouldering their financial responsibilities. Indiana members-at-large have been extremely active and have organized themselves into an unofficial state-wide group with constant communication with each other. We also have centers of member-at-large activity in western Mass. and in Lindsberg, Kansas.

In the past two years membership in the Socialist Party has remained approximately the same, as far as numbers go, but in each year members have increased somewhat their financial contributions to the national office. Finances still remain a problem, however, especially since our fund drives in the past two years have attained only two-thirds of the quota needed. In 1963, dues and the fund drive each contributed 20% of our total income. The members subscribing to the pledge plan contributed another 17%, literature sales accounted for 8%, contributions added another 15%, and such miscellaneous sources of income as bequests, fund raising meetings and dinners, conferences, etc. contributed another 15%. From this, you can see that members have been responsible for 57% of our income and that we have been dependent upon outside sources for the remaining 43%, a situation which leaves us constantly uncertain of how we are to meet our obligations.

Late in 1962 we published our 1962 platform and at the present time we are about to publish a pamphlet on civil rights by Tom Kahn, a revised version of "We Have A Vision...A Deep Faith," and the 1964 platform, which should reach you by the first of September. Our literature sales remain good. with Harrington's The Other America being the leader in numbers sold. Norman Thomas' new book, Socialism Re-Examined, and Harry Fleischman's Norman Thomas: A Biography have contributed greatly to our

income from literature.

During the school year of 1963-64, the general topic of debate for the high schools and colleges was socialized medicine. We were fortunate in raising sufficient funds to publish 10,000 copies of Tucker's The Case for Socialized Medicine and were able to distribute these free to the debators. In addition, we sold some 3,000 copies directly to students throughout the country.

New America has also been beset by financial as well as with production and mailing problems. Because of these problems the last issue of Volume III of New America was not published until February, but all subscribers receive a full twenty-four issues for each $4 subscription. The national office has undertaken to do the mailing of all bundle orders, in order that they may reach the locals as soon as possible. The problem of getting subscriptions to their readers in a reasonable length of time has been a major project for the New America staff for the past six months, and we believe that you will soon see improvement on this.

A major subscription drive undertaken by New America in 1963 resulted in many new subscriptions. It is plain to see that New America fills a real need and that our number of subscribers is limited primarily by the ammount of money that we have for mailings to the various lists that are available to us. The reports from readers across the country indicate generally a satisfaction in the continued improvement of New America, and we pledge ourselves to try to continue this improvement.

Interest in the ideas of the Socialist Party is extremely high today, and resistance to joining us is at its lowest in the past twenty years. It is up to us to make known our ideas as widely and as frequently as possible, both locally and nationally, in order to make the next two years a period of real growth for the Socialist Party.

REPORT - National Secretary, Y.P.S.L.

The Young Peoples Socialist League is in a state of serious crisis today. To be precise, it has almost ceased to be a functioning organization of national scope. While a few areas are healthy and growing, most are in real trouble. Our membership has declined, and many chapters have become inactive or have simply disappeared. When I took office I found some 20 - 30 unprocessed membership applications (dating back as long as six months). With these and new memberships since December (71), the total membership has still declined. During the winter re-registration alone, 110 members were dropped. At present we are down to 308 paid-up members. It should be noted that the N.O. has eliminated the previous practice of carrying "paper" members on the rolls long after they stopped paying dues or considering themselves members of the YPSL.

While a few areas, such as Austin, Texas, and the Cleveland area, report growth and successful work, this is more than balanced by places such as New York City, where the chapter became totally inactive. Members-At-Large have also declined (through lack of re-registration), although most of our new members today come from At-Large and small, isolated chapters.

It is easy to see how this state of affairs has been reached. Ever since we dropped Anvil and Challenge early in the history of the new YPSL, we have had virtually no publications or pamphlets expressing our socialist viewpoint on major issues. Although the National Organizatio n has intermittently sent a field organizer on a long tour, such as the tours arranged for comrades Burnett and Brown, these can be honestly characterized as token efforts rather than a consistently applied emphasis on field organization. While our activity in the civil rights movement -- and during 1961-1962 the Student Peace Union -- enabled us to recruit, when these movements either shifted away from white campuses or declined entirely the YPSL was unable to recruit on its own merits. Thus our present state of collapse is not a sudden phenomenon, but follows from our persistent failure in the past to provide serious publications or real field organization. The YPSL today is paying heavily for its inertia in the past. Another important factor is that the former leadership and in many cases the rank and file of many YPSL chapters have left the campus, either leaving politics altogether or shifting their activities to the SOCIALIST PARTY.

Yet it must be emphasized that the prospects for Socialist growth are better today than any time during the previous decade. Requests for YPSL speakers -- coming from places such as High Schools on the East Coast and College discussion groups in the Mid-West -- are quite heavy. When, as happened recently, the president of a college student bo body offers to set up an all campus meeting for a YPSL speaker, it is tragic that we cannot furnish a speaker. In the wake of the April SP conference in Washington, some 20 high school students wrote the YPSL national office requesting information about socialism and the YPSL. If the YPSL is to live, if it is to take advantage of the renewal of interest in politics, it must get out of its comfortable pessimism and start recruiting a new base of active members.

Toward this the YPSL NAC has proposed the following: 1) that the N.O. should build a fund of $500 from contributions from friendly SPers and others, maintain tight control over N.O. spending, and finance five field secretaries for the first month of the coming school year. Anyone who has tried to build a YPSL chapter realizes that this time, when new students first arrive on the campus, is crucial. The NAC proposes that these five organizers should be representative of the various points of view within the YPSL, and should cover different areas of the country, preferably around where they now live. Comrades from the left-wing tendency and Tom Kahn of the realignment tendency have already indicated their willingness to do the job. 2) The NAC has adopted a policy of printing all proposed pamphlets meeting reasonable standards of quality and relevance, as long as they fall within the YPSL statement of purpose.

# YOUTH COMMITTEE REPORT - Accepted

The Y.P.S.L. is in a state of crisis. Membership has declined--activities at the national level have all but ceased to exist. There are 308 paid-up members at present, of which 180 are members-at-large.

Certain chapters continue to function well, including Austin, Tallahassee, Bloomington, Cleveland, Boulder, and Berkeley. In New York City, the city-wide chapter was dissolved by the Y.P.S.L. N.A.C. on grounds of inactivity. Two chapters have since appeared in New York -- a Bronx high school chapter and a Lower East Side chapter.

Recruitment continues -- about 50 Members-At-Large have joined since January. But the organization is so weak that it can hardly capitalize on the opportunities for its growth which seem to exist.

There is a critical problem of finances -- but under present conditions few funds exist for any but a minimum of routine functions.

The immediate cause of the problem is the factional spirit which prevails in the organization. (A subsidiary factor has been the graduation out of the Y.P.S.L. of almost all the older comrades, who provided leadership in the past.) This factional spirit has paralleled a similarly intense factional situation in the Party -- but has not mirrored the Party's divisions. The Y.P.S.L.'s factions are unique to it alone.

Many members of minority factions have left the Y.P.S.L. or transferred their activity to the Socialist Party. Although there have been sincere efforts on the part of all tendencies within the organization mutually to co-exist, these have been outweighed up to now by an unfortunate atmosphere of distrust and by the lack of complete acceptance within the Y.P.S.L. of the concept of a multi-tendancy organization.

Present plans of the Y.P.S.L. include the fielding of a number of field organizers in the early fall (on a non-factional basis). Pamphlets have been solicited from leading members of minority tendencies.

The Committee urges Party members to give sympathetic attention to the present Y.P.S.L. problems -- which certainly need the help of more mature and experienced comrades, if it is to be straightened out. The Party itself needs to become more active and less torn by factionalism that has prevailed in the past. Among the specific projects which would help the Y.P.S.L. would be an increase in Party literature, including issuance of the new pamphlet by Tom Kahn.

We suggest that the best approach for the Party to take to the immediate problem is for individual Party comrades of experience to concern themselves with the problems of the Y.P.S.L. and to render such advice as would contribute to untangling some of the factional knots which are presently thwarting activity.

# PROPOSED CONVENTION AGENDA

Friday, 12:00 noon

1. Chairman Hoopes opens convention and remarks - 15 minutes.
2. Memorials - 5 minutes.
3. Greetings and announcements by Local Chicago - 10 minutes.
4. Report of Preliminary Credentials Committee (NC) - 10 minutes.
5. Report and adoption of proposed agenda and rules - 1 hour.
6. Election of officers for each of three days - 30 minutes.
7. Nominations for convention committees - 15 minutes.
8. Greetings from fraternal delegates - 10 minutes.
9. Political action for 1964 - 3 hours.
10. Announcement of convention committee elections and meetings - 10 minutes.

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Saturday, 9:30 A.M.

11. Report of Domestic Platform Committee - 3 hours.
12. Report of Foreign Platform Committee - 4 hours.
13. Nomination of National Chairman and National Committee - 30 minutes.

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Sunday, 9:30 A.M.

14. Report of Constitution Committee - 30 minutes.
15. Election of National Chairman and National Committee - 20 minutes.
16. Report of Organization and Finance Committee - 1 hour.
17. Nominations of National Committee Alternates - 15 minutes.
18. Report of Youth Committee - 1 hour.
19. Election of NC alternates - 20 minutes.
20. Report of the Press and Education Committee - 1 hour.
21. Continuation of unfinished business.
22. Adjourn.

1964 NATIONAL CONVENTION, SOCIALIST PARTY-SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

Proposed Rules

1. Officers of the day(Chairman and Vice-Chairman) for all 3 days shall be elected at the opening of the first session, Friday, May 29.

2. The National Secretary shall serve as the convention secretary with power to appoint such assistants as necessary.

3. A permanent Sergeant-at-Arms shall be appointed by the chairman of the first session and he in turn shall appoint such assistants as he sees fit.

4. Committees shall be elected as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a) | Credentials | 5 members |
| b) | Domestic Platform | 7 " |
| c) | Foreign Platform | 7 " |
| d) | Organization & Finance | 5 " |
| e) | Press & Education | 5 " |
| f) | Constitution | 3 " |
| g) | Youth | 5 " |
| h) | Resolutions | 3 " |

5. The chairman of the first session shall appoint four tellers who shall distribute and count ballots during the course of the convention sessions.

6. Except as provided in the agenda, discussion from the floor shall be limited to 5 minutes for each speaker, but the convention may limit or extend the time by majority vote.

7. No delegate shall be recognized a second time on the same subject until all delegates desiring to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.

8. The previous question may be moved by majority vote. Committee nominations shall not be closed until there are no further nominations apparent to the chairman.

9. Robert's Rules of Order shall be used except when in conflict with the national constitution or these rules. When the previous question has been carried, one delegate for each side may speak for 5 minutes. In the case of a committee report, a spokesman for both the majority and minority, if any, shall speak.

10. Each state or local delegation may designate alternates to fill vacancies in its delegation in accordance with the rules of the state. Each delegation shall elect a secretary who shall inform the National Secretary of any changes in the delegation at the opening of each session.

11. No delegate shall be bound by unit rule. This does not apply to instructions on specific issues given delegates by the body that elected them.

12. Members and alternates of the National Committee who are not elected delegates shall have the status of delegates but without vote.

13. Convention committees shall be elected by secret ballot and the candidates receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected. On all other elections, except for the Na-

tional Committee and National Chairman, and on all resolutions and motions, the votes shall be "aye" or "nay" or by a show of delegates' badges, except that when demanded by 30% of the registered delegates, the vote shall be a roll call. In all elections without contest, secret ballots may be dispensed with.

14. All resolutions or communications requesting action and all resolutions offered from the floor shall be referred by the Chairman to the proper committee without discussion. No resolutions which may be offered after Saturday, May 30 at 11:00 AM, shall be accepted without the consent of 2/3 of the delegates present and voting. However, in the course of the discussion, amendments may be presented on the subject under discussion.

15. Acceptances and declinations shall be called after the nominations for each committee and officer has been completed. No delegate shall be eligible to serve on more than one committee. This shall not apply to the Credentials Committee.

16. These rules may be suspended by a 2/3 vote of the delegates present and voting.

17. All resolutions shall be presented in writing.

18. If any putative delegate's credentials have been disputed or disallowed by the preliminary credentials committee, this shall not affect his right to be nominated for convention committees. Prior to the election of such committees the permanent credentials committee shall report and the convention shall vote on the seating of any such delegate.

19. A quorum shall consist of a majority of the registered delegates.

OPENING REMARKS OF NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
1964 NATIONAL CONVENTION SOCIALIST PARTY OF UNITED STATES

COMRADES:

The 1964 Convention of the Socialist Party is now open for business. Those delegates who have not registered will kindly do so immediately so that they may be seated and have a vote in organizing the Convention.

My opening remarks will be brief, but I hope that you will think they are pertinent to the matters that will come before us. If ever, anywhere, there was a need for a live, active Socialist Party, the place and time is the United States in 1964.

The Negro Civil Rights Revolution of 1963, which culminated in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom last August, has clearly exposed the moral bankruptcy of both the Democratic and Republican parties. Despite the obvious need for prompt and effective Federal legislation, to remove the stamp of legality from flagrant racial discrimination in voting, housing, employment, schools, public accomodations and facilities, Congress in its 1963 session passed no Civil Rights law.

The bill now before the Senate starts with the words, "This Act may be cited as the Civil Rights Act of 1963," but we are almost in the middle of 1964 and it is not yet law. It was a very mild measure to begin with - not nearly as strong as the present Human Relations Acts of several of the states which still have a long way to go to end racial discrimination. The House weakened the Fair Employment Practices section of the bill by denying enforcement powers to the Commission, and now the Senate leaders of both parties have agreed to weaken it further in order to get the votes necessary for closure.

They still have not stopped the filibuster and will likely weaken it even more before they do. By the time it is passed, it will be about as effective as the so-called Full Employment Act of 1946, which is a mere declaration of public policy and does not provide jobs for the unemployed.

In the field of racial discrimination, our public policy was declared by Federal Constitutional amendments one hundred years ago, but we have not yet enforced it. Despite pious platform statements, neither the Republican nor Democratic parties have any intention of enforcing such public policy now or in the immediate future. Civil Rights for Negroes have been a football of national politics for a century, and the old parties would like to keep it that way.

The Goldwater and Wallace primary campaigns are providing a sounding board for the rightist opponents of civil rights and all other liberal legislation, and without doubt are influencing some of the wavering Senators to vote against closure. Until we can build a truly effective party on the left to provide a counterbalance to this influence, the chances of obtaining any meaningful social legislation are indeed poor. Very little such legislation has been adopted since the Socialist Party ceased to be an effective gadfly.

These are some of the reasons why we must have a strong viable democratic Socialist Party in the United States. Neither the Republican nor the Democratic party has or will serve the needs of the American people. The Socialist Party is the only political party in this country which has wholeheartedly supported the Negro's struggle for equality in all phases of civil and industrial life.

Members of the party and of the Young People's Socialist League have taken an active part in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, and in other non-violent protests against racial discrimination. Some, like Comrade Walter Bergman, of Detroit, have been severely beaten, and others have gone to jail for these activities, which in three years have done more than anything else to break down the walls of segregation.

We Socialists know that the best possible Civil Rights Act will not end racial discrimination in the United States. That can only be brought about by continued demonstrations in the streets, and we must be prepared to take an active part in planning and carrying out such demonstrations, not only in the South but also in our own communities in the North. We must be ready to face the rising hostility of our friends and neighbors, some of whom have favored integration South, but deeply resent the Negro's demand for equality in the North.

But it is not only in the field of Civil Rights that the Democratic and Republican parties have failed. The continued grinding poverty and deprivation of two-fifths of our people amidst plenty, the lack of adequate medical care for millions, the results of automation, hard-core unemployment, the shifting of population from farm to city to suburbs, with the many human problems involved, have not moved these parties to pass an outstanding piece of social legislation since 1938.

To be sure President Johnson has declared war on poverty. This of itself is a good thing because it has directed publicity and public attention to the fact that millions of Americans are not receiving their fair share of our prosperity. But declaring a war and winning it are far different things.

The Socialist Party has been fighting poverty ever since it was organized more than sixty years ago. Our own Mike Harrington, in his book "The Other America," has done more than any one else to expose the facts about poverty in the United States, and to awaken the public conscience to the evils thereof.

The proposed Economic Oppostunity Act of 1964 is good as far as it goes. Training young men to qualify for better jobs is a step in the right direction, but as James G. Patton, President of the National Farmer's Union, said, President Johnson's anti-poverty program is "only an infinitesimal fraction of what needs to be done to wipe out poverty in America."

At our Washington Conference on Poverty, Professor Aaron Levenstein pointed out that President Johnson's program is an effort to heal some of the wounds created by poverty, but does not touch its real causes. He also told us that the United States has the highest rate of unemployment of any industrial nation, and that our work force is increasing one million each year, while private industry is providing for only one hundred seventy-five thousand new jobs. To reduce unemployment the government must provide new jobs in the public sector of our economy and the old parties refuse to do that.

Harrington says that poverty is costing twelve billion dollars a year. President Johnson has limited the budget for his all-out war on poverty to one billion dollars a year. As another speaker at our Conference reminded us, this is the first war that the United States has ever started with a declaration that it is to be fought on a balanced budget. It is also unusual to declare war and reduce taxes at the same time.

The tax cut was supposed to be the first big blow against poverty. But like other recent tax measures, most of its benefits go to the wealthy. One-half of the savings go to the one-eighth of the taxpayers who have incomes over $10,000.00 a year. The theory is that the wealthy will invest these savings, and thus cause the economy to grow and provide jobs for the unemployed. It may actually produce a short time spurt until the election is over, but since most of the investment will be in automating equipment, the long term effect will be to reduce rather than increase jobs.

A tax cut would have been much more effective against poverty, if it had brought about a genuine redistribution of income by drastically increasing the purchasing power of the lowest paid workers. For example, Congress could have eliminated some of the tax loopholes, which favor the very wealthy, and used that money in a massive public housing project, which would have provided better paying jobs and decent homes for the slum dwellers. They could have increased the basic $600.00 exemption, which would give the poorest people more money to spend for food and clothes, but they didn't do either of these things.

Any attempt to abolish poverty in the United States, which does not make a direct frontal attack on the profit system, which is its basic cause, is doomed to abject failure. It is like trying to end a typhoid epidemic without purifying the polluted water supply. People get sick faster than you can cure them even with modern drugs.

We have the manpower, the industrial capacity, and the know-how to produce plenty for all, but we deliberately refuse to use them. Why? Because the wealthy owners of business and industry and their Republican and Democratic representatives in Congress are planning for private profit instead of the public welfare. That's why! They intentionally plan poverty for millions of their fellow human beings in order that they may have higher profits and more riches for themselves. That's why!

Our basically undemocratic/economic domestic policy, which gives enormous wealth to a few and leaves two-fifths of our people in poverty and deprivation, cripples the United States in its struggle to win the poor peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America from Communism. Government officials boast of the billions of dollars which our government gives in foreign aid, but fail to publicize the fact that most of the aid benefits the well-to-do upper classes, and almost none seeps down to the very poor who need it most.

They also fail to point out that in most aid-receiving countries, American private investors take back more in profits each year than our government gives in aid. From poverty stricken Latin America alone they take more than one billion dollars a year in profits. In other words, foreign aid, as administered by both Democratic and Republican administrations, enables American investors to make a profit and helps the poor people only slightly and incidentally.

Some of you may be wondering why I take your time to attack the evils of capitalism, of which you are undoubtedly aware. The only reason for the existence of a Socialist Party, is to attack capitalism and to advocate Socialism. A party which calls itself Socialist, and fails to advocate Socialism as its central theme, first, last and all the time, is a fraud, and does not deserve, and will not long retain the enthusiastic support of ardent Socialists. My purpose in reminding you of

these evils is to emphasize the incompetency of both the Republican and Democratic parties to solve them, and therefore, the necessity of having a strong viable Socialist Party.

Comrades, we have to make up our minds whether we are Socialists or liberal Democrats. We cannot be both. There is a basic difference which seems to be blurred in the minds of some of our Comrades. The Democratic Party is a capitalist party and is financed by the beneficiaries of capitalism. Democrats, both liberal and conservative, seek to preserve, protect and expand the private profit system.

In addition to the failures which I have already recited, the Democratic Party is the firmest supporter of the war economy and the garrison state. Many liberal Democrats are ardent militarists. They fall over one another in their rush to vote military appropriations. At the same time they cut grants to the United Nations to the bare minimum.

How can Socialists possibly reconcile such a program with our platform or the principles of democratic Socialism? The Socialist Party's support of such candidates will only confound the hopeless confusion which already envelops the American political scene. Worse than that, it will destroy any chance of rebuilding the Socialist movement in the United States. People won't join the Socialist Party to support Democrats, they will join Democratic clubs.

Most of us joined the Socialist Party to work for Socialism and against capitalism. We can't do that by supporting a capitalist party, whose every candidate is pledged to defend the profit system, and who never misses an opportunity to deny that he is a Socialist. We make Socialists by constantly pointing out the evils of capitalism and carrying on a continual fire against all parties and candidates who support it.

We should stop soft-pedaling the mistakes and the false positions of liberal Democrats. We should never hesitate to condemn them, when they do things which are contrary to our Socialist Platform and principles. We should point out the reasons for these differences, namely, that the Democratic Party supports the profit system and is anti-Socialist, and we should not expect its members to act like Socialists.

If it were not for these differences, we could all be Democrats with a capital D, and there would be no reason for the existence of the Socialist Party. But these vital differences do exist, and we must have a Socialist Party to present our viewpoint. It is our job to build the Socialist Party, and we can best do that by emphasizing the difference between it and both the capitalist parties, and point out why we are right and they are wrong.

I have given you a few examples of the many things that we can and should talk and write about. Heaven knows there are plenty more! Let's get on with the job of building the Socialist Party.

# DELEGATES, 1964 NATIONAL CONVENTION

Arizona
Tucson:
George Papcun

California
Bay Area:
New Perspectives Branch:
Barney Cohen
Bogdan Denitch
Arlon Tussing
Norman Satir
San Francisco Local:
Harry Siitonen
University Branch:
Joyce Brown
Anne Draper
Jan Carrell
James Burnett
Los Angeles:
Paul Albright
Mickey Porges

Colorado
Boulder:
Frank Byers
Alex Garber
Gene Yaeger
Tom Milstein
Harold Schlager
Sally Milstein

District of Columbia:
Laurence Tepper
Peter Irons
Neil Maclay

Illinois:
State:
Ben Williger
Quinn Brisben
Debbie Meier
Saul Mendelson
Peter Meyer
North Side Chicago:
Marion Shier
Rose Weinrib
Max Weinrib
South Side Chicago:
Ken Burg
Milton Davis
Olive Golden
David Komatsu
Robert Palter
Charles Van Tassel
Lula White

Massachusetts:
Julius Bernstein

Michigan
Detroit:
Bonnie Mullins

New Jersey
Camden:
Morris Stempa
Northern New Jersey:
Harry Winthrop

New York State
Nassau:
Seymour Kopilow
Yetta Shachtman
Suffolk:
Jack Cypin
Reuben Kunoff
New York City:
Brom Bassford
Bernard Bolitzer
Syd Bykofsky
Betty Elkin
Samuel Estrin
Paul Feldman
Samuel H. Friedman
Dick Gumpert
Michael Harrington
Norman Hill
Rachelle Horowitz
Penn Kemble
Ian McMahan
David McReynolds
Rudi Pakalns
Ernst Papanek
Seymour Steinsapir
Irwin Suall
Joan Suall

Ohio:
Max Wohl
Sylvia Wohl
Dan Thomas

Pennsylvania
Berks County:
Alfred Eckenrode
Darlington Hoopes
Philadelphia:
Central Branch:
Hannah Carner
Carl Dahlgren
Joe Davidson

(more)

West Side Branch:
Martin Oppenheimer
Walter Lively
Elizabeth Young

Pittsburgh:
Harvey Kleiman

Wisconsin:
Carl Benson
Walter Benson
Walter Bubbert
William Hart
Erwin Koth
Joe Stetson

Delegates-At-Large

California:
Francis Heisler

Connecticut:
Tom Greenspon
Earl Herrick

Indiana:
Carlie Anderson
Don Anderson
Lowen Berman

Iowa:
James Bertin
Katherine Bertin

Maryland:
Charles Davis

Missouri:
William Allen
Walter Martin

Pennsylvania:
David Fineman

Young People's Socialist League:
Tom Barton
Kit Komatsu
Joe Weiner

Registered Alternates:

San Francisco:
Tom Condit

Chicago:
Mike Parker

Nassau:
Ephraim Friend
Max Shachtman

Philadelphia:
Alex Wollod

Indiana:
Rick Congress

# RECORDED VOTES AT THE SP CONVENTION

Political Action, pp. 3-4

MOTION: To accept the Harrington resolution as a basis for discussion. For: 42; Against: 23. CARRIED.
AMENDMENT (McReynolds): For: 36; Against: 33. CARRIED.
AMENDMENT (Mendelson) and the amendment to Mendelson's amendment: For: 44; Against: 19. CARRIED.
MOTION: To accept the Harrington resolution as amended so far. For: 42; Against: 21. CARRIED.

Domestic Platform, pp. 4-5

The Peter Meyer document was submitted as a substitute platform for the Committee document. Vote on the Meyer document: For: 13; Against: 38. DEFEATED.
AMENDMENT (Allen): For: 35; Against: 23. CARRIED.
AMENDMENT (Maclay): For: 17; Against: 42. DEFEATED.

Foreign Policy Platform, p. 10

MOTION (Fineman): For: 5; Against: 51. DEFEATED.
MOTION on the Friend document: For: 4; Against: 60; Abstain: 12. DEFEATED.
MOTION on the Thomas-Platform Committee draft: For: 64; Against: 2; Abstain: 2. CARRIED.

Constitution Committee Report, p. 11

MOTION (Anderson): For: 32; Against: 16. CARRIED.

Organization and Finance Committee Report, p. 12

MOTION (Parker): For: 45; Against: 19. CARRIED.

Press and Education Committee Report, pp. 13-14

MOTION on majority committee recommendation about ½ page of New America: to refer to the NC. For: 45; Against: 21. CARRIED.
Vote on the preamble to the Committee report: For: 43; Against: 29. CARRIED.
Vote on the majority committee resolution, p. 14: For: 29; Against: 36. DEFEATED.

Foreign Policy Committee Report, p. 22

FRIEDMAN AMENDMENT XXII: For: 21; Against: 25. DEFEATED.
MCREYNOLDS AMENDMENT XV: For: 22; Against: 28; Abstain: 4. DEFEATED.
COHEN AMENDMENT XVIII. MOTION to refer: For: 15; Against: 37. DEFEATED.
Vote on the amendment: For: 13; Against: 38; Abstain: 1. DEFEATED.
DENITCH AMENDMENT V: For: 27; Against: 14. CARRIED.